THE

Memorial

OF THE

CHURCH of ENGLAND:

Humbly offered to the

CONSIDERATION

OF

All True Lovers

OF OUR

Church & Conſtitution.

Now firſt Publiſh'd from a Correct Copy.

To which is added

An Introductory Preface,

Wherein is contain'd the

Life and Death of the AUTHOR,

And Reaſons for this preſent Publication.

inted in the flouriſhing Year of the
CHURCH. M.DCC.XI.

AC911.1711.D72-

THE
PREFACE.

THE Pamphlet which this is Introductory to, has been ſo much talk'd of, and inveigh'd againſt, under an Adminiſtration in other Hands, that it is hop'd it will not be diſpleaſing to thoſe that ſit at the Helm of Affairs now: ſince the Publication of it proceeds from no manner of Apprehenſion of the CHURCH's being in Danger at *preſent*, but is only Reprinted to put them in mind of what She has miraculouſly eſcaped.

THOUGH the Author of it was neither a *Prophet nor the Son of a Prophet*, yet he is entitl'd to ſome inſight into *Prediction*, from what has been the Conſequence of his Fears; and a late famous Tryal, and ſome indirect Practices pre-

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vious to it, have made appear that it was not without great Cause he was so solicitous for the Well-being of the Government and Church Established. He liv'd not to be an Eye-witness of the Arraignment of the Scriptures, and the insolent Attempts that have lately been made on the Prerogatives of the Crown: but he liv'd long enough to see what some Peoples Designs would have terminated in, had not Providence interven'd, and inspir'd HER MAJESTY with Resolutions suitable to Her High Birth and Quality, and Sentiments worthy of the Regal Authority; Though had he liv'd till now, to participate in the common Joy for *another Restauration*, he wou'd have prevented me in the Friendly Part I am now doing him, and explain'd what his *B*——s, *R*——'s, and *N*——s meant, by telling the Noble Peer that ask'd, *Whether there were not some Charms in them for the Church's Security?* what Persons they belong'd to, and setting his own Name to what common Justice made him say of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, and Earls of ROCHESTER and NOTTINGHAM.

THIS is what he intended, had either the Malice of his inveterate Enemies, or the Ingratitude of his pretended Friends, suffer'd him to survive a Prosecution he was unable to support himself under. But Death, by putting an end to His Misfortunes, increas'd those of his Acquaintance, and left us inconsolable for the L ss of a Gentleman, who had Courage enough to undertake the Defence of the *Best Cause* under the *Worst*

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of Circumstances, and Learning enough to do it to Advantage under the greatest Discouragements.

WHAT he was capable of performing for the Honour of his QUEEN and Countrey, may be seen in his Excellent Compositures, where Wit and Judgment are so blended together, as to be of Weight with the Reader to fall in Love with the One, while he cannot but fix his Contemplation upon the Other. Particularly, in a Weekly Paper of his, call'd *Mercurius Politicus*; which shew'd him not only Master of an Excellent Stile, but possess'd of Qualities superiour to the Studies he was engag'd in (those of Physick) and enabl'd to make as Eminent a Figure in the *Commonwealth of Politicks* as in that of *Letters*.

AFTER this Discovery, which I had from himself some time before his Death, with an Assurance that Mr. *Poley* (likewise deceas'd) was his Assistant in the Law-Part of those Excellent Sheets: I have nothing farther to do, than to premise some Particulars relating to the Life of this Incomparable Person, Dr. *JAMES DRAKE*, and afterwards enter upon some Memoirs, which will not only let the Reader into the Occasion that induc'd him to write the following MEMORIAL, but the Proceedings thereupon in both Houses of Parliament.

TO begin with the First. Dr. *JAMES DRAKE* was born in *Cambridge* in the Year 1667. and by the Care of an indulgent Father had a very Liberal Education; through the Benefit of which, and a very towardly Disposition, he

he was admitted into the University of that Name in the Year 1684. where he soon distinguish'd himself not only in his College, but the Publick Exercises that are perform'd by Under-Graduates. Some time before the Revolution, he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, after having declaim'd and disputed in the Schools with very great Applause, and thence in due process of time commenc'd Master, with unusual Honours paid him by Men of the Brightest Parts in the said University. In the Year 1693. he made a Visit to *London*, where being soon made known to the Ingenious, he was very much admir'd at all places frequented by Men of the *Belles Lettres*; and having a particular Genius to the Study of Physick, was encourag'd in the pursuit of it by Sr. *Thomas Millington*, and the most Eminent Practitioners in the College of Physicians. In 1696. he return'd from *Cambridge* with his Degree of Doctor in that Faculty, and was soon after Fellow of the Royal Society, as likewise of the College of Physicians: But, whether the narrowness of his Fortunes that streightn'd him so, as not to let him appear in a proper Equipage, brought him off from more Profitable Studies, he had been in *London* but a small time before the Booksellers laid wait for him, and he was listed in their Service as an Author, and had the Satisfaction to see whatever he did, pass off very currently, with a favourable Acceptance from the Publick. In 1697. he contributed very much to the Publication of a Pamphlet, entituled, *Commendatory Verses*

ses upon the Author of Prince Arthur *and* King Arthur, which was very well receiv'd; and at the beginning of Her present MAJESTIES Reign, in 1702. wrote a Book, entituled, *The History of the last Parliament*; which being thought by the House of Lords to reflect on the Memory of the late King *William*, he was conven'd before them, and order'd to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General, who brought him to a Tryal, at which he was acquitted the Year following. In 1704. being disgusted at his disappointment of being made one of the Commissioners of the Sick and Wounded as was promis'd him, and dissatisfied at the rejecting the *Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity*, and the Disgrace of some of his Friends who were Sticklers for it, entred upon the following MEMORIAL, in concert with Mr. *Poley*, Member of Parliament for *Ipswich*; which being taken Notice of by the New Ministry, was represented to the QUEEN as an Insult upon Her Majesties Honour, and an Intimation that *the Church was in Danger under Her Administration.* Accordingly Her Majesty was pleased to take Notice of it, in Her Speech to the ensuing Parliament, and was address'd by Both Houses to punish the Authors of such groundless Reports with the utmost Rigor of the Law; After which, a Proclamation was issu'd out, and a Reward appointed for the Printer, who surrender'd himself upon promise of his Pardon, and pretended to make a Discovery, but could do nothing more than (upon Examination) fix

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it upon Three Gentlemen of the House of Commons, and relate that a Woman in a Masque, with another bare-fac'd, brought the Manuscript to him, and made a Bargain with him to have 350 printed Copies for it, which he deliver'd to four Porters sent to him by the persons concern'd. But, though the Woman that came to *Edwards* the Printer without a Masque and some of the Porters were taken up, yet it was impossible to carry on the Discovery any farther: Which gave occasion to a Member of the House of Commons (Mr. *Poley*) to say, *That it was not usual to accuse Members of their House of being concern'd in any thing to the Prejudice of the Government, without naming them.* However, upon a Motion made by the Lord *H——x* that a Day might be appointed to enquire into the pretended Danger of the Church, the 6th. of *December* was pitch'd upon, when several Speeches were made for and against such an Assertion: The Earl of *R——r*, Bishop of *L——n*, Archbishop of *Y—k*, Bishop of *B——* and *W——s*, Duke of *L——s*, being for the Affirmative; and the Lord *H——x*, Bishop of *S--m*, Lord *Wh——n*, Bishop of *E--y*, Bishop of *L——* and *C——*, *&c.* for the Negative; of which there was a Majority of Sixty-one Voices against Thirty, who entred the following Reasons for dissenting. *Vide* Annals *of the Fourth Year of Queen* Anne, *written by* A. Boyer, *page* 210.

"First,

"FIRST, Becauſe we humbly conceive there "may be Dangers to the Church, always im- "pending, on ſeveral Accounts; the Prayers "ſet forth to be uſed on the ſolemn Faſt-days, "under the Head of *A Prayer for Unity*, implo- "ring God Almighty's Grace, *that every body may "ſeriouſly lay to heart the great Danger we are in by "our unhappy Diviſions*, ſhews plainly that in the "Opinion of the Compilers of the Form of that "Prayer, and in Her Majeſty's Judgment, who "commands it to be uſed in all the Churches and "Chapels throughout *England* and *Wales*, there "are very many Dangers.

"SECONDLY, We humbly conceive the "Church in Danger from a Neighbouring King- "dom, which, tho' under Her Majeſty's Sove- "reignty, during her Life (which God long pre- "ſerve) hath not, by any means, yet, been in- "duc'd to ſettle the ſame Succeſſion to the Crown "as is eſtabliſh'd by Law in this Kingdom in the "Proteſtant Line; but, on the contrary, that "Succeſſion has been abrogated by the *Act of Se- "curity*, which, with ſeveral other Acts paſſed "in that Kingdom, has been judg'd by this Houſe, "in the laſt Parliament, to be dangerous to the "preſent and future State of this Kingdom; and "therefore we may juſtly fear there are Dangers "from hence both to Church and State.

"THIRDLY, We humbly conceive there "may be very great Dangers to the Church for "want of a Law to prevent any perſons what-

" ſoever from holding any Offices of Truſt and " Authority, both in Church and State, who are " not conſtantly of the Communion of the *Church* " *of England* Eſtabliſh'd by Law; and therefore, " on the Account of the unhappy Diviſions in " points of Religion and Divine Worſhip, as " alſo on the Account of the Calamities of the " Age, in the too publick and common diſown- " ing any Religion at all, the Church may be in " Danger.

" FOURTHLY, Tho' we have an entire " Confidence in Her Majeſty's Zeal and Piety to " the Church, we dare not, in Duty to Her Ma- " jeſty, and the Service of the Government, con- " demn all ſuch as may have Fears in relation to " the Preſervation of the Church, and Safety of " the Crown.

" FIFTHLY, Being ſincerely convinc'd that " theſe Reaſons, among others mention'd in the " Debate, are ſufficient to juſtifie our Fears, we " humbly conceive, *That it is not a proper way to* " *prevent Dangers, by voting there are none.*

Buckingham	*Winchelſea*	*Thanet*
Northampton	*Nottingham*	*Scarſdale*
J. York	*North and Grey*	*Rocheſter*
Caernarvon	*Angleſea*	*Conway*
Weymouth	*W. St. Aſaph*	*Howard Eſcrick*
Osborn	*Suſſex*	*Henry London*
Denbigh	*Leigh*	*Leeds*
G. Bath & Wells	*Craven*	*Guilford*
Granville	*Chandois*	*Abingdon*
Beaufort	*Guernſey*	*Haverſham.*

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HOWEVER, their Lordships sent a Message to the Commons, to acquaint them with their Proceedings in relation to the Church, and desire their Concurrence to their Resolution about the same: Whereupon the Question was put, *Whether they should consider that Message in a Committee, or in a full House?* which was carry'd for the latter. And though Mr. *Bromley*, Sr. *John Packington*, *&c.* urg'd, The Power of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, where the Church is not so much as tolerated; The Absence of the next PROTESTANT SUCCESSOR in case of the QUEEN's Death; The want of an Act against **Occasional Conformity**; The Increase of *Presbyterian Schools* and *Seminaries*, *Prophaneness*, *Immorality*, and *Irreligion*; The *Act of Security* in *Scotland*; The Abuse and ill Dispensation of Her Majesty's Bounty to the Clergy; The Licentiousness of the Press, in the great number of Libels publish'd against the Church; The Multiplication of *Presbyterian Conventicles*, *&c.* upon a Division of the House 212 Members were for agreeing with the Lords, and 162 against it. Accordingly Both Houses join'd in an Address to Her Majesty upon that Head, tho' the Author of the MEMORIAL remain'd still undiscover'd as before. But he being violently suspected, and obnoxious upon other Accounts to some Persons then in Power, was bound over for some Assertions in *Mercurius Politicus*, (which he undertook to write Weekly even in the midst of these Enquiries) and being try'd for them, was clear'd

upon a flaw in the Information. Upon which, our then Governours brought a Writ of Error; which being depending till the Day of his Death, join'd to the ill Treatment he receiv'd from some of his own Party, flung him into a Fever, of which he dy'd after a short Confinement to his Bed, not without violent Exclamations against the Rigor of his Prosecutors.

AMONG these, some persons may be apt to reckon the Right Honourable Gentleman, who, by being lately attempted to be made a Sacrifice to **Popery** and **Faction**, has given sufficient Demonstrations that he is an Enemy to both: but I am to do him that Justice, which is due to him from the DOCTOR'S own Words a little before the Violence of his Distemper robb'd him of his Senses, and which Mr. *HARLEY* has an undeniable Claim to, from his late Eminent Services to CHURCH and STATE, as to affirm that the *Doctor* has said in my hearing, *That it was his business, as Secretary of State, to be diligent in the Enquiries he was put upon by the Chief Minister; and whoever liv'd to see the result of two or three Years, would find that Gentleman a better Friend to the* Church *and* Monarchy *than those that were Pretenders to a much greater Affection.*

THE Event answer'd the Assertion, and the working out of the **Old** Ministry, who made the Contents of this MEMORIAL almost true in every particular; the Establishment of the NEW; the calling of the *present* PARLIAMENT; the wholsom and necessary Laws that have been made

made and enacted by them: make it evident, that, though this indefatigable Patriot was forc'd to conceal his real Designs for a while, and seem to walk hand in hand with those whose Practices he had an aversion to, for fear of being suspected, he has prov'd himself such a Friend to the Constitution both Ecclesiastical and Civil, as leaves us no room to doubt his good will to the *Doctor*, would Reasons of State and the Preservation of the Prerogatives and Rights of the QUEEN and People, have permitted him to endanger the Security of the whole Community, by shewing any particular Regard to a private Subject. If this cannot acquit him in some Mens Opinions, the Wounds which he has lately receiv'd by the hands of an Assassin, for detecting his Correspondence with our Enemies, must; for he must be a confess'd Good Man who has his Life practis'd against and sought by the Bad; and, after having escap'd from the Machinations of private Malice, that would have suborn'd Accusations against him, stands rescu'd and deliver'd by the hands of Providence from the open and undissembl'd Villany of the worst of Ruffians; a Name that can never come up to the Nature of so detestable an Attempt as that of the Marquis of *Guiscard*.

So much for a Gentleman, to whom it is worse than being wounded for his Fidelity, to be assaulted in his Reputation; and for this very excellent Author, who deserv'd a better Fate than to be misunderstood in his Respects to

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the QUEEN and GOVERNMENT, which he was always during the Converſation I had with him very heartily zealous for. But I am not to prepoſſeſs the Reader with a favourable Opinion of him, ſince his Merits are to be determin'd and adjudg'd by the following Performance.

THE

THE Memorial OF THE CHURCH of ENGLAND.

THose that look no deeper than the Surface of Things, are apt to conclude without hesitation, that the Church of *England* is in a very flourishing Condition: Its *Dignities* and *Preferments* make a very goodly shew, and the Patronage of the Queen seems to promise a continuance of *Prosperity*: But, for all this fine Complexion and fair Weather, there is a *Hectick Fever* lurking in the very Bowels of it; which, if not timely cur'd, will infect all the Humours, and at length destroy the very *Being* of it.

Condition of the Church not to be judg'd by the external appearance.

The Nation has a long time abounded with *Sectaries*, who in the preceding Century violently overturn'd both Church and State; tho' their own Extravagance and Confusions, through a special Providence, contributed more than Human Wisdom to the Re-establishment of 'em. The Sons of those Men yet remain, and inherit many of 'em the Principles of their Fathers; it wou'd therefore be no very uncharitable Supposition, without any other Argument,

Danger of the Church, from whom.

ment, to imagine 'em Heirs of their Designs likewise: For it is easie to demonstrate that such *Principles* lead naturally to such *Designs*, and that no Man can heartily embrace *One*, without having favourable thoughts of *the Other*; nor can we blame 'em; for if any Man is persuaded (as many of our *Sectarians* avow themselves to be) that the Discipline and Worship of the Church of *England* are an Abomination, his Conscience will readily suggest to him, that he ought to do his utmost to purge the Land from such Abomination; and upon this Pretence has the Church been once already intirely subverted, tho' raised again by God in a miraculous manner. In those days, a *Thorough Reformation, Root and Branch*, was the Cry of all the Pulpits, the *Shibboleth* of the Party. If, since the Church recover'd its ancient Lustre and Authority, they have been more silent, and in appearance more moderate, it is not that they are better temper'd or affected, but that, submitting to the Necessity of the Times, they have dissembl'd their Intentions better: Yet some Overt-Attempts here, and the whole Course of their Proceedings in *S------d* during these two last Reigns, sufficiently shew us what Treatment we might expect if they had the Power.

Dissenters not singly so formidable as given out.

But these People, tho' they have the *Will*, have not the *Power* alone to endanger the Church. The Dissenters are not yet considerable enough for their Numbers, (however they boast of 'em) Wealth, or Quality, to bring about any great Change in the Constitution of Church or State: And our Church is too strong to be shaken, but through the Treachery or supine Negligence of its own Members, or those at least that pretend to be such, and as such frequently palm themselves upon their Country and Church, to the irreparable Damage of Both.

Their late disposition and temper, and the Reasons of it.

The sudden Death of the late King disappointed, mortified and humbl'd the Dissenters, and their Abettors the Whigs, so excessively, that they were ready to have thrown a Blank to the Church, and wou'd have taken a General Indemnity, with an Exclusion from all Publick Trust and Office. They who not a Month before breath'd nothing but Defiance, and insulted the Church, and treated the Princess with the most scandalous Indignities, and rudest Calumnies, were in an instant grown the most dutiful Subjects, the most affectionate Friends, and the most Peaceable, Meek, Christian-spirited People in the Universe. They preach'd nothing but Charity, Peace and Love, Forgiveness of Injuries, Oblivion of Wrongs, and the utter Abolition and Extinction of Parties and Factions for ever: So very Good and Gracious can Men in fear be! But whence this Humility

lity and Dejection of Mind, this Sweetneſs of Temper? Was it Natural, or the Reſult of more Extraordinary Grace, or more Chriſtian Principles than other Men were poſſeſs'd of? No! but they had juſt before injur'd and affronted the Princeſs and Church of *England* in ſo inſolent and outragious a manner, upon preſumption that durable Schemes were upon the Anvil in their favour, that their own Conſciences, upon the vaniſhing of 'em, prompted them to ſeek Pardon and Peace from thoſe whom they had ſo abus'd, by an extraordinary Submiſſion.

Very different from the preſent, and why.

But when, contrary to theſe Fears, they found the Head of the Church, and, after Her Example, the Members of it too, inclin'd not only to *forgive*, but to *forget* paſt Injuries; and that, inſtead of *Puniſhment*, they met not with ſo much as a *Rebuke* or *Reproach*, but Comfortable Speeches and Kind Aſſurances from the Queen Herſelf, and Good Countenance from ſome of Her Prime Miniſters: their Spirits were elated, in an inſtant the Spirit of Humility and Pacification vaniſh'd, their former Inſolence and Preſumption return'd upon them in full Force, and they began to challenge and provoke the Church as boldly as ever.

Conceſſions made in Scotland, *very dangerous to* England.

Thus far the Hiſtory of their Carriage towards the Church is publick and recent, as likewiſe are the Advances that have been made in their Favour, and the Repulſes which the Church has met with. Every thing has paſt in *Scotland* to the deſire of the *Presbytery*, even to the endangering of the Church and Monarchy of *England*, and the Diſheriſon of its Conſtitution, and the immediate Prejudice of its Sovereignty; but, on the contrary, nothing for the Security of the Church here; which cannot only boaſt itſelf to be a *Main Branch* of the *Civil Conſtitution*, but the *Prop* and *Support* of the *Whole Frame* of *Government*; which remov'd, it muſt all neceſſarily fall to the ground, as has been once fatally experimented. All Attempts to ſettle it on a perpetual Foundation have been oppos'd, and render'd ineffectual, by Miniſters who owe their preſent Grandeur to its Protection, and who with a Prevarication as ſhameful as their Ingratitude, pretend to vote and ſpeak For it Themſelves, while they ſollicit and bribe Others with Penſions and Places to be Againſt it. If the ſeveral Perſons concern'd were to be interrogated upon Oath, What wrought this wondrous Change in 'em? they wou'd anſwer, That the L------d Tr-------er requir'd it of 'em, and that they held their Places by that Tenure. If, on the other hand, the ſame Enquiry were

Great and ſudden changes in ſome Miniſters.

E--s of R--r, N--m, J--y, *and Sir* E. S. *why in disgrace.*

made, Why the Staves were taken from the E— of *J—y* and Sir *E. Seymour?* Or why so able and faithful a Minister as the E— of *N*— was expos'd singly to the Malice of a Faction, and He as well the E— of *R*— weary'd out of his Post? It wou'd be found that they were inflexible Men, Opiniaters, whose Consciences got the better of their Places, and wou'd not let them part with unseasonable Principles whenever they grew out of fashion at Court. They adher'd firmly to the Interests of the Church, and by Their steddiness reproach'd those that debauch'd the rest with want of Principles and Ingratitude.

It is so hard to assign any plausible Reason for this Conduct of the L—d Tr—r, that when his Story shall come to be impartially written, it will hardly find Belief with Posterity; for it is scarce credible, that one who has the Reputation of *a Cunning Man*, should desert his Old Friends and Protectors, with whose Approbation and Good Will he enjoy'd the Best Post in the Nation; at a Time when their Credit was at the highest, while the *Heart* of the Queen was entirely with 'em, and while there was a perfect Harmony upon that Score between Her and the House of Commons, the greatest and most powerful Body in the Nation, and an Universal Satisfaction throughout the Land in the expected Settlement of the Church; and, to sum up All, when neither the One Party had given him any Provocation to abandon 'em, and the Other consequently not trusting to his Conversion, receiv'd him with an ill Grace, and have us'd him scurvily ever since.

N. B.

In this the effect of *Sun----d*'s Alliance appear'd. That *Tricking Statesman*, to whom Treachery was through habit become almost as necessary as breathing, could not suffer his new Relations to take open and fair Measures, which had been more Safe, as well as more Honourable, and altogether as Advantageous to 'em; but by infusing into 'em a Jealousie of their Friends, endeavour'd by embarrassing Them to render Himself necessary.

Fear of Rivals in the Queen's Favour, alienates L. T--r, &c. from the Interests of the Church.

Thus it's believ'd the L—d Tr——r, and D——e and D—eſs of *M — gh* receiv'd the first Warp; at least, 'tis more honourable to lay the Fault there, and suppose 'em abus'd, than to think they left the Cause by which they had been rais'd, out of levity of Temper, or premeditated Treachery. But, however that was, being possess'd of the Queen's Favour, they were resolv'd to admit of no Sharers with 'em in it, not so much as the Church,

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leſt that ſhould draw after it the Earls of *R——r* and *N——m*, with others, into more ſpecial Grace, and cloſer Confidence with the Queen than they approv'd. Yet, as it was neither ſafe nor feaſible ſo, abſolutely or immediately to wean the Queen from the Church, as to keep thoſe Noble Perſons, and divers others, ſo far from Her as they deſir'd, without keeping the Church at ſome diſtance: they amplified the Numbers of the Diſſenters, and the Danger of diſobliging 'em; and then by degrees fill'd Her with Apprehenſions of the miſchievous Heat and Paſſion of the Church-men, and perſuaded Her of the Neceſſity of with-drawing Her Countenance, and receiving 'em more coldly; till by degrees they drove almoſt all that adher'd firmly to the Church, from about Her Perſon. In the mean time, to fortifie themſelves againſt that Odium, which they foreſaw they muſt neceſſarily incur, having all the Places of the Nation in their hands, they employ'd 'em to debauch indifferently ſuch of *Both Parties* as were Members of Parliament, and out of Them to raiſe up a *Third*, which ſhould pretend to be Neuters, and depend upon Them alone, and vote and act by Their Direction only, without Regard to any other Engagement or Principle.

They prejudice the Queen.

But as ſuch Changes as theſe abruptly made, are Scandalous and Unpopular, and, in the end, generally fatal to Miniſters of State, unleſs varniſh'd over with ſome ſpecious Pretence to gull the People, and lull 'em into a falſe Security: Her Majeſty's gracious Diſpoſition and Inclination to render all Her People happy and contented, was laid hold of as a moſt glorious Screen, and Moderation was the Word, the *Paſs par-tout*, that open'd all the *Place*-doors between the *Lizzard-Point* in *Cornwall* and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*. Immediately ſome Gentlemen, who had made a handſome Figure, and render'd themſelves conſpicuous to the whole Nation for their Zeal, grew as moderate and indifferent as a Uſurer at a Diſcourſe of Charity; They cou'd vote For or Againſt any Bill, the ſame Parliament, the ſame Seſſion, nay, if Occaſion had been, the ſame Day. But this *Moderation* which triumph'd ſo in *England*, cou'd not be prevail'd upon to ſtir one ſtep over the *Tweed*. While our Men of *Moderation* yielded up every Point *here*, on pretence of Tenderneſs for erroneous Conſciences, the Kirk *there* purſu'd their Blows; and having got the poor Epiſcopal Church down, laid on moſt unmercifully thick and heavy, in order to knock it effectually on the head; and theſe moderate Perſons, who wou'd not ſuffer the Church of *England* ſo much as to aſſert itſelf here, were ſo far

History of Moderation a-la-mode.

from offering their Mediation towards alleviating their Unjuſt Sufferings, that the Proceedings of their Enemies were encourag'd and enflam'd by ſpontaneous Letters of Grace and Countenance; and when the poor perſecuted Clergy of that Kingdom, in the Anguiſh of their Souls, addreſs'd for ſome Comfort and Relief under their Miſeries, they were ſent back with an Anſwer that had more of *Reproof* than *Compaſſion* in it, without hope of Remedy; and, the more to imbitter their Woes, befitting only Tumultuous Rioters, or Seditious Remonſtrants.

Suſpicions of the Church of England, *how grounded.*

Thoſe of the Church that know the Piety and Tenderneſs of the Queen for all Her People, and Her particular Goodneſs and inclination to Charity, as well as Her ſpecial Zeal for the Church of *England*, can't believe that this ſudden Damp upon it, and this ſeeming Partiality for the Diſſenters, can ariſe from any ordinary Cauſe, or from any thing leſs than a lively Apprehenſion of ſome very great Danger, as ſtrongly as privately ſuggeſted to Her; eſpecially when they conſider their own firm Adherence to Her while only Princeſs, and their dutiful and affectionate Carriage towards Her ever ſince: But they plainly ſee, by Her repeated Cautions in Her Speeches, by the Conduct of Her Principal Miniſters, and by the Obſtructions which every thing that has been advanc'd for the Security of the Church has met with from ſome Great Officers of the Crown, that the Church does not hold the ſame Rank in Her Eſteem and Confidence, that it held heretofore; or that, at leaſt, through the Awe of ſome Party or other, ſhe dares not give 'em the wonted Marks of it. However, not being conſcious to themſelves of any intemperate Behaviour on their part towards their Neighbours, or want of Duty or Affection to Her Majeſty, their Repreſentatives having chearfully ſupply'd Hers and the Nations Wants, and comply'd with all Her Deſires (as far as they were inform'd of 'em) except in the Caſe of the Grant to the Duke of *M-------gh*; which, conſidering that his Services were then but in their Infancy, but juſt beginning; that the Nation was at great Charges for *this* War, and very much in Debt for the *laſt*; and that upon thoſe two Accounts they had very lately been forc'd to a Reſumption of former Grants: they cou'd not think it proper to be done in a Parliamentary way at that time, tho' they did concur with the Queen in acknowledging his good Services, and were very well ſatisfied that Her Majeſty ſhould extend Her Royal Bounty to him for 'em, even *then*, and have ſince, in a moſt ſpecial and honourable manner, recommended to Her further Conſideration his late great Services; which ſhews that they never envy'd, or were

unjuſt

unjuſt to his Merits, or refractorily uncomplaiſant with Her Deſires. From all theſe Conſiderations they can't conceive that the Countenance of the Court towards them is alter'd by reaſon of any Misbehaviour of Theirs, but upon ſome private Suggeſtions hitherto ſuppreſs'd.

Moderation of the Church of England aſſerted,

Although from the frequent Inculcations of the neceſſity of *Moderate Councils*, and from the repeated Exhortations from the Throne to *Peace* and *Union*, the Church-men do find themſelves almoſt as ſenſibly reproach'd with want of *Chriſtian Charity*, and the true *Spirit of Peace*, as by the open Aſperſions, and defamatory Libels of the Diſſenters and their Hirelings, who under the Buffoon Nicknames of *High-flying*, *Tantivy*, *Perkinite*, &c. are employ'd to traduce and banter all Care of the preſent Conſtitution, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil: yet they are willing to bring their *Moderation* to the Teſt with any Church, Congregation, or Religious Community whatſoever in the Univerſe, that has at any Time, or in any Country, been poſſeſs'd of ſo much Civil Power, to give as fair and full Proof what they wou'd grant to thoſe of other Perſwaſions, if they had themſelves the Power, as what they demand where they have it not. The *Independents* and *Presbyterians*, formerly in *England* and *Ireland*; The Kirk of *Scotland*, heretofore and at preſent; The *Anabaptiſts* at *Munſter*; The *Lutherans* in divers parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, &c. The *Calviniſts* in *Holland* and at *Geneva*; and the *Roman-Catholicks* at ſeveral times almoſt all the World over, Have in their reſpective Turns experimentally demonſtrated by their Practice, that they will not endure a Rival Church in their Dominions; and ſome of 'em (to which Eight Parts in Ten of the *Engliſh* Diſſenters retain) that they will not ſo much as *Tolerate* the Exerciſe of the Rites of a Diſſenting Church, tho' in ſubjection; And the *Quakers* (who never had Dominion any where, and therefore make the ſtrongeſt pretence to *Moderation*) will not ſo much as lay out their Money with a Tradeſman of another Perſwaſion, nor extend their Alliance, Commerce, or Charity beyond their own Sect, tho' kindly invited to it by others (eſpecially the Church) buying of them. From this Conduct, it is no uncharitable preſumption to conclude, that the *Quakers* wou'd be as tenacious and uncommunicative of Power (were they poſſeſs'd of it) as any other Sect.

And compar'd with that of other Churches.

The

Unjuſt Miſrepreſentations juſtly to be reſented, and from whom.

The Church of *England* then has Reaſon to reſent and be griev'd at the Miſrepreſentations that the Miniſters or others, for private Ends, make of her beſt Friends to Her Majeſty or the Publick; and they to regret the loſs of thoſe favourable Regards which their conſtant, dutiful, and affectionate Behaviour might give 'em a juſt Expectation of; eſpecially to loſe 'em upon groundleſs Surmiſes, and unfair Inſinuations, that they have not Temper enough to bear their Felicity as they ought. Thoſe that procure this *Coldneſs* towards the Church, pretend to deal with it as they do by half-famiſh'd perſons, ſtint 'em in their Meals, for fear they ſhou'd ſurfeit through over voraciouſneſs: tho' it is more to be fear'd, that, like Knaviſh Guardians, they curtail the Infant's Allowance, not ſo much to breed him ſoberly, as to cheat him the more largely in their Accounts; which, for all their Cunning, may at ſome time or other undergo a ſevere Examination. Had this want of Temper been ſuggeſted by the profeſs'd or ſuſpected Adverſaries of the Church, there had been nothing of Wonder, leſs of Ingratitude, tho' not leſs Injuſtice. We have been us'd to bear their inſolent unjuſt Clamour with a Calmneſs of Temper unknown to any Church but Ours; and which alone, without any other Argument, is ſufficient to evince the Unreaſonableneſs and Falſhood of their Reproaches, and wipe off all ſuch ſlandrous Aſperſions at the very inſtant they are caſt upon us. But when our *ſuppoſed great Friends*, *Aſſertors*, *Paſtors*, and *pretended Protectors*, by unneceſſary Cautions and Reprehenſions, give countenance to the hardeſt Inſinuations of her Enemies, it looks as if they wou'd arrogate to themſelves ſolely the whole Merit of the Church's viſible *Moderation*, and through their Artifices leave her ſtill ſuſpected of inviſible chimerical Deſigns of *Perſecutions*.

Trimmers *Excuſes*.

Vide *Preface to* Peace at home, and War abroad, *and* Eſſay xi.

Thoſe that thus treacherouſly now clog and damp the Affairs of the Church, plead the ſame Reaſons for their preſent Conduct, that the Selfiſh Temporiſers of all Ages and Nations have ever done; That the Times will not bear any other Meaſures; That they are as hearty and as firm to the Intereſts of the Church as ever; but that the Enemies of it are very numerous and powerful, and muſt not be provok'd at this juncture; That the Queen muſt have the Hearts of All Her People, and in order to it, give *Equal Encouragement* to all Her loving Subjects, without diſtinction of Parties; That the Old Seditious, Rebellious Race of *Phanaticks* and *Whigs* is extinct, and

their

their Leaven worn out; and that they who inherit at present their Aversion to the Church of *England* have none at all to the Civil State, but are as affectionate and loyal as the best Churchmen of 'em all; That the impatience of the Church to be secur'd, may endanger many fine Schemes, which these Politicians have laid, and which they will communicate when and to whom they see proper; That to take away from Men by a Law *the convenient Privilege of being on Both Sides, of traversing from one to another, as they see it most for their Profit, of inverting pretended Zeal to downright Hypocrisie, of playing fast and loose, and being against us in Principle, and with us for Advantage,* is, or at least looks like, a sort of Persecution. *Vid.* Effex.

To all these Trimming Excuses, or Shifts rather, 'tis easie to give such short *Answers* as the intended Limits of this Paper will allow.

First, To the *Inexpediency of the Time,* it may be answer'd, That in all dangerous Distempers of the State, as in acute Diseases of the Body, the earliest Applications, if in their own Nature simply proper, are the best; and he that defers the Remedy under pretence of waiting for a *Chrisis,* betrays the Patient to the Danger of being lost through the Malignity of the Distemper. The last War was judg'd by many an inconvenient and hazardous Time to rectifie our Coin in: yet the Event has shewn, that the certain Mischiefs of the Delay wou'd have been much greater than the Hazards from the immediate Remedy of Re-coining, notwithstanding the Loss amounted to several Millions more than the neareſt Guessers calculated it at: For all growing Maladies are rendred more dangerous, and difficult of Cure, by Delay. The Objections to Remedying the Evils of our Coin then, were very plausible: The Nation was deeply in Debt, and the Expences of the War were very great; to which, adding the insatiable Rapaciousness of some then in Power, and the general Corruption of the Managers of our Revenue, (as chargeable, perhaps, to the Nation as the War) which aw'd 'em from controlling the Abuses of Others, for fear of having their Own inspected; it seem'd justly to be fear'd, that such a diminution in Tale of the Species of Money, wou'd scarce leave us enough to serve our Home-Necessities, much less our Foreign Trade, and those of the War abroad: But the Experiment shew'd us capable of bearing stronger Remedies than we suspected, as 'tis probable we still are. *This no improper Time.*

But

Sullenness of the Dissenters not dangerous.

But what had we to fear from the Remedy propos'd by the Honourable House of Commons for our Factions? The *Dissenters* would have been disoblig'd! Which for once we will suppose, but can't grant: What is it the Publick wants from 'em? The Assistance of their *Hands* and *Purses*. The first of these we have not: For our Fleets are Mann'd and our Armies form'd of such as can conform to the Service of the Church; and if All were turn'd out of 'em who wou'd not, we shou'd not miss a Sixth Rate's Crew, or a single Company, out of Both; and the latter being impos'd by the Legislative Authority, they cou'd not refuse it, unless they wou'd rebell, which their Advocates deny. But they are Rich, and might refuse to lend their Money to the Government upon Parliamentary Security! This is a weak shift: For while the Government gives good Interest, and makes due Payments, they are not so sullen, or blind to their own Advantage, as not to take its Money, especially while the Returns of Trade are so hazardous and uncertain. What then is the great Inconvenience that awes aud warps our Great Ministers thus? Why, says a Learned Author, *Her Majesty wou'd not have the Hearts of all Her Subjects.* We cou'd wish his Politicks cou'd furnish an Expedient, by which She might have 'em All. But if the *Dissenters* will be disoblig'd if they are *not* put into Place and Authority, and the Church of *England* will be disoblig'd if they *are:* whence may the greatest Inconvenience arise? Perhaps our Wise Men think themselves secure in the *Passive Principles* of the Church against any Resentments on That side, and therefore bend all their application to gain the Other, whose Temper and Principles are more mutinous. If this be their true Motive, they may be simple, well-meaning Men, but must be wretched Politicians. The Principles of the Church of *England* will dispose Men to bear a great deal, but he's a Madman that tries how much; for when Men are very much provok'd, *Nature* is very apt to rebell against *Principle*, and then the Odds are vast on Nature's side. Whether the Provocations given to the Church of *England* may not, if continu'd, be strong enough to rouze Nature, some of our Statesmen wou'd do well to consider in time: For, tho' the Church is not to be wrought up to Rebellion, yet they may be so alarm'd as to secure themselves at the Peril of those Ministers who give 'em the Alarm; nor is it to be expected that they shou'd long bear to be thus us'd, and see a Party, that they know seek their Ruin, courted at their Expence. But the Tr-----er is wise;

The Church not to be too far provok'd.

The Dissenters Sayings retorted.

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let Him therefore look to that, and maturely weigh who are to be provok'd at this juncture.

All Parties not equally to be encourag'd.

But, *All Parties*, they say, *must be encourag'd without distinction.* Why so? Are Friends or Enemies, Affectionate or Disaffected, Trusty or Treacherous, equally and indifferently to be esteem'd? Have the *Phanaticks* at any time been such hearty Friends to the Crown and Church, as now to be reasonably trusted with the Guardianship of 'em? But, to fling the Church as far out of the Question, as some Ministers have out of their Regards: Are there no Reliques of the *Old Republican Leaven*? The Scripture tells us, that a very *little* will serve to put the *whole* Mass into a Ferment. Is it demonstrable, that they who affect a *Parity*, a *Republican Model* in the *Hierarchy*, would not like the same Scheme of *Civil Government*? Are we very sure, that they who ill treated and bespatter'd the Princess, and hop'd that She never shou'd reign, are grown sincerely fond of the QUEEN, and heartily glad that She does reign? Are not such sudden and simple Conversions of the Will somewhat suspicious? And may we not, without Oppression or Persecution, be fearful of committing Power to suspected hands? But, to push our Enquiries no farther at this time, when these Questions are fairly and fully answer'd, we shall know more Reasons than One why some Persons voted For a certain Bill, at the same time that they sollicited and made Others vote Against it.

Prohibiting Occasional Conformity no Persecution.

As for the Learned *Doctor*'s Persecution Argument: If it be *Persecution* to take away the Trade of *Hocus-Pocussing*, and playing *fast and loose* with Religion, We answer, That *Persecution* then is (as it happens) the very Band and Cement of all Government: For if divers persons were not almost daily persecuted at certain places call'd *Old-Bailies*, We shou'd neither sleep, walk nor ride in Safety; and the *Gentlemen-Divers* may as justly complain of the Laws that take from 'em the *Convenient Privilege* of putting their Hands into other Mens Pockets: For if taking away the Benefit of Hypocrisie be *Persecution*, Hanging for picking a Pocket is undoubtedly *Martyrdom*. Surely those that argue at this idle rate, have never consider'd the Nature of *Civil Trust*. It is not any Man's Birthright (as some Advocates for *Spiritual Juggling* have vainly pretended) but the result of the Confidence the Government has in our Merit and Fidelity. He that confers a Trust, may do it upon what Terms he pleases, because 'tis a matter of *Grace*, not of *Right*, and we are at liberty to refuse it if we do not like the Conditions. If

therefore any persons have so behav'd themselves, or own such Principles, that the Government can't without Danger confide in 'em, the Legislative Power is bound in Duty to the *present* as well as *future Time*, to disable 'em from doing Mischief, by excluding 'em from Power. Nor can the persons so excluded with more Justice complain of the Government, than of a Man that refuses to lend 'em Money without Security: But, if the Borrower has been before *Notorious* for *Frauds*, or *Collusive Failures*, 'tis Impudence in him to press the Loan, and would be Stupidity and Madness in any one to trust him without sufficient Security. Yet this is the Case between the *Dissenters* and the *Church* and *Government* of *England*. That the *Dissenters* have always abus'd the Trust and Power they have been admitted to, is evident from the Experience we had of 'em in the Times of King *Charles* the First and King *James* the Second. In the *first* Instance they actually procur'd the Subversion of Church and State *against* the King; in the *latter* they voluntarily offer'd to sacrifice the Laws and Immunities of 'em *to* him. In both these Cases they pretended Conscience, and therefore the Church and Government of *England* have reason to raise all possible Precaution against admitting such Persons into Trust as can *plead* Conscience for the *breach* of it.

Bill against it, why reasonable and necessary at this time.

The Bill against *Occasional Conformity* excluding none but *obstinate Dissenters* from Offices of Trust and Profit, was a Security highly reasonable and necessary at this time: For, as the *Practices*, so the present *Principles* of that sort of Men give us too just Grounds to be jealous of their *Intentions* towards us. The Episcopal Church of *England*, as by Law establish'd, is a great and necessary Branch of our Constitution, and we are in Duty bound to preserve it, which it will be very hard to do without some more explicit Law than any yet in force, to prevent the Invasions of *Sectarians* and their Abettors upon it: For, besides the scandalous Equivocation of *Occasional Conformity*, by another *Jesuitical Shift* they now openly stile Themselves *the Church of England as by Law Establish'd*, and so pretend not only to evade the Force of all that is or shall be enacted in favour of the Church under that Stile, but lay claim to, and perhaps in time may arrogate solely to Themselves the *Privileges*, and fix upon the Church the *Penalties* of those discriminating Acts. This Fear is rendred the more reasonable, by our Observation that the *Socinians*, and all other *Latitudinarians* in Religion, who are known not to act upon any Principle of Conscience, do notoriously and avowedly abet, and sup-

Socinians & Latitudinarians *Enemies to the Church and the Bill.*

port

fort 'em in all their *Practices* and *Pretenſions* againſt the Church; and that, through their Contrivance and Aſſiſtance, they are become more formidable than from any Strength in Themſelves. Not that the *Socinians* or *Latitudinarians* have in reality more kindneſs for the *Diſſenters* than the *Church*: but becauſe they hope, that if with their help they cou'd pull down the Church, they ſhou'd be able ſucceſſively to deſtroy Them through their own Diviſions, and triumph ſeverally over 'em all. For, whatever Figure the whole Maſs of *Diſſenters*, taken indiſcriminately together, and in the aggregate, may make, yet ſeparated and rang'd apart, under their proper diſtinct Claſſes, they wou'd appear contemptible either for Number or Quality, compar'd with the Church of *England*: And, how much Harmony ſoever may by ſome be fancy'd to be among the ſeveral ſorts of 'em, they will ſcarce be found to be united in any thing but their Envy, and froward Oppoſition to the Eſtabliſh'd Church: So that, cou'd the *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, and *Latitudinarians*, with their Help, pull down the Church, it wou'd be no hard Task to manage them to the Deſtruction of one another.

No Friends to the Diſſenters, yet embrac'd by 'em.

The *Diſſenters* themſelves (thoſe eſpecially who are Maſters of a moderate degree of diſcernment) are not ſo ſilly as to imagin that thoſe perſons who have of late put themſelves at the head of their Quarrel, do it out of any conſcientious liking of their Doctrines and manner of Worſhip; or that they whom Wantonneſs, Unbelief, or Faction have rendred impatient of the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and who condemn a Polity ſo candid and eaſie to the Laity, as *Prieſt-Craft*, can ever be brought to ſubmit to the ſowr Rules and ſawcy Encroachments of *Edinburgh* and *Geneva*. They know very well, that to be free from all Diſcipline and Moral Reſtraint is the ſole aim of ſome; by the Subverſion of the *Church* to make way for the *Civil Conſtitution*, is that of others; while to make a Noiſe and a Buſtle, and render themſelves conſiderable by Faction, is the Deſign of moſt; and that by ballancing of Parties to curb One with the Other, and domineer over 'em All, is the drift of the Miniſters: Yet, ſince through the Ruine of the Church lies the common Road to all their Ends, even the Devil's hand is welcome to help to pull it down. The Godly may court and embrace the Aſſiſtance and Patronage of the Wicked towards ſo pious a Work; and, let the cenſorious World ſay what it will, in ſpight of Sodomy, Adultery, Pox or Prophaneneſs, *S----and* ſhall be a Saint, and *So----rs*, *Wi----on* and *H----fax* Prophets, Martyrs, and Apoſtles.

To pull down the Church, not the Interest of the Dissenters in general.

But, tho' many of the *Dissenters* may like very well the Design of pulling down not only the *Church*, but the *State* too, yet even these (if they have, or pretend to have any Interest in any sort of Religion) wou'd do wisely to examin what they shou'd be the better for Success against the *Church*, and *what* Religion, or whether *any*, shou'd be uppermost, if these pretended Champions of theirs shou'd prevail, and put us into all the Confusion they aim at; They may assure themselves, that these Gentlemen do not think *Dominion founded in Grace*, and wou'd very hardly be brought under *Spiritual Direction*; and tho', for fashion-sake, some Religion or other shou'd be thought necessary, it wou'd be to cover foul Practices, and prevent unreputable Discoveries. But at the best, but One of all our numerous Sects cou'd obtain to be the *National Church*; and whether that One wou'd tolerate the Rest, as the Church of *England* now does them All, is a doubt that wou'd puzzle the wisest of 'em to resolve. However, it is plain that but One cou'd be a Gainer; and it is pretty apparent, as well from past Experience, as from the Nature of the Thing, that when Mens Spirits are heated with the fierce Contention and Struggle, (which must necessarily arise before such a Change can be wrought) and puff'd up with the Pride of Success, they are apt to grow more assuming, and to be less indulgent to the Humours and Opinions of Others, than those whom long Quiet and little Opposition have suffer'd to settle into more Security and better Temper. Besides, as no Sect or sort of *Christians* whatsoever can boast of so extensive a Charity, and so good-natur'd a Discipline, it cannot be the Interest of any Sect to change her Government for any other.

Yet it is their Design.

Yet, tho' it be not the *Interest* of the Dissenters in general to pull down the Church, since it is manifestly their *Design*, it behoves all that are *of* and *for* the Church to watch their Motions narrowly: And, perhaps, the wisest step the Friends of the Church cou'd take towards her Security, wou'd be to distinguish nicely between those that are *of* the Church only, and those that are both *of* and *for* the Church: For we have liv'd to that unhappy time in which Men dare not only pretend to be *of the Church*, but (to the shame of some of our Clergy be it said) dare *receive their Bread from it*, nay, and *creep into its highest Dignities*, and yet oppose its Security, and sacrifice all its Interests to their own farther Expectations, and the Intrigues of crafty Ministers; and so far has the Corruption spread, that *Lawn-Sleeves* are become no sure sign of a *Churchman*.

Abun-

Abundance of knaviſh pains have been taken to divide the Church into *High* and *Low*; and ſome even of the Eccleſiaſticks have been ſo fooliſh as to go into that *dangerous Diſtinction*, contriv'd by their Enemies on purpoſe to divide and ſet 'em together by the ears. If the ſtrict Obſervation of the *Rubrick* and the *Canons* denominates a Man a *High-Churchman*, then every Presbyter of the Church of *England* is, or ought to be a *High-Churchman*: For no private Miniſter, or ſingle Prelate of the Church, nay, no Number of 'em, how Great ſoever, can or ought, (unleſs according to the legal ſtated Form and Manner of doing ſuch things) to diſpenſe with or alter the Rules and Orders of the Church, which they have upon the Sacrament ſworn, and promis'd under their hand to obey. But if there be any ſo hardy, and conceited of their own Gifts, Lights and Prudence, as to diſpenſe with what the Church has enjoin'd in the Performance of their Office, as *Prieſts* or *Biſhops*, their Preſumption therein is ſo far from being commendable, as the reſult of *Moderation*, that it involves 'em in the Guilt of *Contumacy*, *Schiſm*, and *wilful habitual Perjury*; Crimes of ſo black a Dye, that we hope none of the Clergy are chargeable with 'em. The Diviſion therefore of our *Church* (eſpecially our *Clergy*) into *High* and *Low*, is impertinent and groundleſs; or if not, it brands the *Low-Churchman* with a Character ſo infamous, that ſure no Presbyter or Deacon of the Church can be ſo abandon'd to Shame as to own. As for the Reproach of being a *Church-Papiſt*, (a Term which the Enemies of the Church wou'd render ſynonimous to what they call a *High-Churchman*) it is caſt upon them by thoſe only who wou'd be contented to *make* as well as *call* 'em *Papiſts*, that the Ruine of the Church of *England*, the Great Bulwark as well againſt *Popery* as *Phanaticiſm*, might be the conſequence of it; and of this we had the dangerous Experience in a late Reign, when the Church of *England* alone defended the *Proteſtant Religion* againſt *Popery*; while thoſe that now pretend to Merit by ſawcy Bawling, join'd with the Papiſts to ſet it up, in Oppoſition to the Church and the Laws; of which their numerous Addreſſes of that Time remain a laſting Record under their hands to all Poſterity. We may therefore ſafely conclude in the Words of a certain Prelate, with a ſmall Addition, *That we know no High-Churchman but the* Pope, *nor no Low-Churchman but the* Phanaticks *and their Abettors.* But if any True Sons of the Church ſhall, under the Notion of *Moderation*, ſuffer themſelves to be miſled into that dangerous Diſtinction, and join the Enemies of the Church under

Diviſion of the Churchmen into High *&* Low, *groundleſs and knaviſh.*

Low-Churchmen dangerous to the Church.

the Disguise of *Low-Churchmen*, the Time may soon come, when they may be convinced of their fatal Error, and become as *High-Churchmen*, as the highest in *England*, when it may be too late; and among these we fear to see some Reverend Persons of a certain Bench that shall here be Nameless. For when by our Stupid, over-weening Security, Indulgence and Easiness shall have given our watchful and industrious Enemies the same Advantages against Us, which they have obtained against our Sister Church of *Scotland*, it may be too late to fly to the Throne in our Distress; the Ministers may be Cowardly or Treacherous, or heartily in the Intrigue against us; and the Crown it self may be Timorous, ill Advised, unwilling, or unable to Relieve us. What has been may be; it has been once our Case, is now the Case of our Brethren in *Scotland*, and may be ours again, if we do not take care to keep it out of the Power of these Moderate *Low Churchmen*, either thro' Weakness to give us up, or thro' Covetousness and Ambition to sell us to those, whom we have found at all times dispos'd to purchase our Ruin at any Rate, and perhaps never more than at this Juncture.

Secret Designs of the Tr——er *to be trusted to by the* Church.

But 'tis whisper'd among us (as so great a Secret ought to be) *That the Lord Tr——er does not in his Heart care a Farthing for the* Phanaticks *and* Whigs; (which we believe) *That he is at the bottom a fast Friend to the* Church, *and has Designs very much to the Benefit and Advantage of it*, (which we crave leave to doubt) *if the* Church *wou'd have Patience, and wait the proper Time for the Execution of 'em: That the* Queen *is really well and zealously principled and intention'd towards the* Church (which we firmly believe and are satisfy'd in) *and wou'd readily concur in any thing Just and Seasonable for its Service and Security.* Admitting all this to be True, that not only the *Queen* is in Her own Person Zealous for the Welfare of the Church, of which She is the Visible Head; but that all and every individual Minister, or Person in Credit about Her is sollicitous and vigilant for the same Good End, yet they are but Men, and consequently fallible in their Measures, which is the Point to which we shall at present speak a few Words.

Danger of delaying the Bill against Occasional Conformity.

It is on all Hands agreed, that the Church of *England* never had more reason to expect a perpetual Establishment, than under Her present Majesty. The late King was a Foreigner, educated out of the Pale of our *Church*, and 'tis probable the next may be so too. It can't be expected that such Princes, however Generous, Good and Gracious, shou'd come over with any extraordinary tenderness or regard for a

Church

Church; to the very Principles, Discipline, and Constitution of which, they probably may be great Stangers. But it may so hapen, (as it already has) that thro' the Misrepresentations of Designing Men, such Princes may be abused in the Character of the Church itself, and much more of the *Church Men*, for want of a sufficient personal Knowledge of 'em, and so be misled to place their Confidence, and lodge the Trust of the Government, where neither in Prudence, nor by the Intention of the Law they ought to rest. Thus it came to pass in the late King's time, that tho' the *Dissenters* had the Liberty of their Consciences secur'd to 'em by an Act of *Perpetual Toleration*, which was purely the Result of the Indulgence of the Church, to those who wou'd not make an equal Return, where themselves prevail'd against it; yet not so contented, they did by Libels and Scandalous Pamphlets openly, and clandestine Insinuations to the King, thro' the Means and Managery of some Persons, endeavour to create an Unjust Jealousie of the Church, and to wrest into their own Hands the Civil Power, for which the Law had made 'em incapable, and by a meer Jesuitical, Equivocal Shift, scandalous to Religion, and destructive of all Faith and Moral Honesty, attempted to evade the Force and Intent of the Law, which was to distinguish and incapacitate for Trust all those, that were not True and Sincere Members of the Church of *England*, prostituting those Consciences of which they pretended to be so Tender, and prophaning the most Solemn and Holy Mysteries of the Christian Religion, to the base sinister Ends of eluding the Law.

The Dissenters not contented with Liberty of Conscience.

How far, and by whom these Practices were encourag'd, and what Distractions they caused on the Affairs of the Publick, few *Englishmen* can be Ignorant, and has in part been already told, therefore shall not be repeated here. But the Observation of the Mischiefs these Practices had already been the Cause of in Church and State, and those yet greater to Both, which must be the necessary Consequences of the State's conniving at the continuance of 'em, made the House of Commons resolve by a Law to take away the Temptation, and punish a Wilful Transgression, so scandalous to Religion, and so pernicious to all Civil Governments.

This they could never hope for so favourable an Opportunity of doing as in the Reign of a Queen, who so well understands and loves our Constitution Ecclesiastical and Civil, that as before, among our Princes she has no Equal, so it is to be fear'd that after Her, may arise none like Her: If there-

No Reign so opportune as this for the Bill against Occasional Conformity.

fore

fore We can't in *this Reign* obtain a Security for the Church of *England* againſt the Invaſions of the *Diſſenters*, and get the Breaches made in thoſe Laws, which were her only Political Fence, repaired now, we have little reaſon to expect it in any other. For, whatever Objections or Oppoſition may be made to it now, may probably be made then, when our Prince, for want of ſufficient Acquaintance with our Church and Us, ſhall perhaps not be ſo able to diſcern the Unreaſonableneſs and Fallacy of 'em, as the Queen is. And it is not unlikely but that, as they begin already to call themſelves the *Church* of *England* by Law Eſtabliſh'd, they may then make Us the *Diſſenters*, as one of their Impudent Libellers has at this time done. And 'tis highly reaſonable to believe, that when a Prince educated in another Church ſhall come to the Helm, his Servants and Favourites, who will have the Privilege of his Ear in a peculiar Manner, may take upon 'em the Patronage of the *Diſſenters*, who will not fail to make ſtronger *Court* to 'em, than the *Church* will think to be their Due, (as it happened in the late Reign) and ſo occaſion ſuch Promotions, as may be of fatal Conſequence to the *Church*.

Vide *Character of a* Tacker.

How eaſily this may be, will appear plainly by collecting the Votes of the Peers created in that Reign. For of *Thirty Four* Peers Spiritual and Temporal, created, and firſt rais'd to the Order of Nobility then, ſcarce above Five either in that Reign or this, ever gave a Vote for the Service or Intereſt of the *Church*, or *Civil Conſtitution* in any critical Queſtion that concern'd 'em. What a dangerous Majority ſuch Promotions may create ſomewhere, We find already to our Sorrow, and therefore in this Reign, in which only We can hope to do it, ſhou'd provide againſt ſuch Miſchiefs for the future.

Behaviour of the Peers created by the laſt Reign.

Whether our Miniſters have in Reſerve any ſalutary Remedies for the Evils which threaten both *Church* and *State*, from their paſt Conduct, We may with Juſtice queſtion. For, while in the Parliament every Bill for the Intereſt of the *Church* is Rejected thro' their Solicitation, and at *Court* her firmeſt Friends are turn'd out of Truſt and Favour, notwithſtanding their Eminent Zeal and Abilities to Serve Her Majeſty, ſupported by Great Services paſt, for no other Reaſon than their Conſtancy for the *Church*, We muſt be Infatuated if We believe well of the Intentions, or truſt to any Profeſſions of Miniſters that have Procur'd ſuch things to be done.

Deſigns of the Miniſters to be judg'd by their Conduct.

But tho' our Ministers *He* and *She*, were as Honest as they ought to be, and as Wise as they pretend to be, or as persons that set up for Managing *Factions* had need to be, (the Contrary of all which is from their Management shrewdly to be Suspected) yet all their future Honest and Wise Service could not make the Queen, Church, or Monarchy of *England*, Reparation for the Mischief which the Initial False Steps of their Ministry have done; not tho' they should Reign as long as *Methuselah* liv'd, and Govern as Wisely and Uprightly for the time to come, as *Numa* or *Licurgus*. Under pretence of *Moderation*, and Healing our Breaches, and Calming our Animosities, they have made 'em ten times Wider and more Flagrant, than ever. They have Spirited up a *Faction*, that was *Down*, and made those Pretend to the *Whole Power* of the *Government*, who, but for their Countenance and Support, would gladly have purchas'd Impunity with Incapacity; They have disoblig'd the Bravest and most Affectionate House of Commons that ever any Prince had, only to Render a few in another Place Insolent, who have Heat enough to Embroil Affairs, but not Weight enough to Turn, or Skill enough to Disentangle 'em. In short, they have Forfeited the Esteem and Affection of the *Whole Body* of the Churchmen to make *Themselves* Heads of a Prick-ear'd *Faction*, who refuse to receive 'em as Such, and neither would if they could, nor could if they would Stand by them; and out of an idle Jealousy, that the E---l of *R*-----*r* and some other Lords of Great Merit and Authority, might Rise to an equal Degree of Credit, and Rival them in the Queen's Esteem, they have brought themselves to a Necessity of Courting and Truckling to *W---ton*, *S---ers*, and *H---fax*, their old Enemies, who Insult 'em with the Scorn, that is due to such Mean Politicks, and such Poor Submissions.

Mischief of their first false Steps.

But admitting, that this Gracious Countenance of the Tr----er towards the *Whiggs* and *Fanaticks* were but a Copy (as the wisest of them Suspect it to be) put on for a while only, to calm those *Unquiet Spirits*, and Lull them into a false Security, and that the Service and Security of the Church of *England* are only Respited (as it is pretended) till a Juncture, in his Opinion, more Favourable to them; Is he sure that he shall be Able then, by the Service he shall do, to Ballance the Mischief that his Trimming in the mean time will have done? He has by his Countenance and Encouragement, not only rais'd up a *Faction*, that was absolutely down, but greatly Encreas'd and Strengthen'd it: But he must not therefore Flatter himself, that he carries so much Weight in his own Person, as to be able to Turn the Scale

Tr---'s Trimming, tho' perhaps dissembled strengthen the Whigs.

to which Side ſoever he takes. For, tho' he has had the Power to Spirit-up a Dejected broken *Faction*, and to Engage them in a Quarrel, which, but for their Hopes in him, they durſt not have Entred into; or if they had, muſt have fallen in: yet from ſome Parallel Inſtances, and ſome Arguments which We ſhall lay before him, We hope he will be convinc'd, that his Succeſs will not probably be ſo great, when he ſhall endeavour to quell them.

Parallel Inſtance of Katherine de Medicis.

Katherine de Medicis (a much Greater Perſon than our L--d Tr——er) Queen-Mother and Regent of *France*, during the Minority of *Henry* the *Third* her Son, by reaſon of his *bas* Age, and afterwards thro' his Weakneſs, had a mind to make the ſame Experiment, for much the ſame Reaſons that our Tr——er now makes. She was apprehenſive, that the *Intereſt* which the *Guiſes* had in the *Leaguers* was a Diminution of her *Authority*, and might in time remove her from the Regency; and this Jealouſie grew ſo ſtrong in her, that tho' ſhe was a *Zealous Catholick* and a *Leaguer*, ſhe reſolv'd to countenance the *Hugonots*, in order to Ballance the *Power* of the *League*, and by them to Support her *Regency* againſt the *Guiſes*, whom ſhe Suſpected to be her Rivals. This Conduct ſhe purſu'd but ſix Months; yet (as *Mezeray*, a *Hiſtorian* of great *Candour*, informs us) in that ſhort time, ſhe made more *Hugonots* by her Countenance, than all their *Preachers* had done in thirty Years. 'Tis probable the Influence of our Tr——er may not make *Whigs* ſo faſt, but it Viſibly Debauches Great Numbers. The Conſequence of theſe Ambitious Conteſts between the Queen-Mother of *France* and the *Guiſes* was, That the King was made to Act on all Occaſions contrary to his Intereſts, Inclinations, and Promiſes, in compliance to the Deſires of the *Factions*, and became thro' their Means very Unhappy and Contemptible to all his People; Whereas (the ſame Hiſtorian tells us) that had he ſtuck to that wholſome Reſolution of Tolerating inviolably the *Hugonots* in the Exerciſe of their Religion, and of excluding them entirely from all Offices of *Truſt* and *Profit*, he had ſeen a ſpeedy End of all his Troubles, and in a few Years brought all his Subjects peaceably to One Religion; the contrary Method to which, fill'd his Kingdom with War, Bloodſhed, and all the Miſeries that attend 'em; and brought himſelf at laſt to an *Untimely End* by the Hand of an *Aſſaſſine*, after having been wrought by his Mother to conſent to a *General Maſſacre* of all the *Proteſtants* in his Dominions; which horrid *Deſign* was with deteſtable Cruelty and Barbarity executed at *Paris* on St. *Bartholomew's* Day, and follow'd ſoon after in moſt Parts of that Kingdom. And this

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very *Katherine de Medicis*, who had not long before taken upon her the Protection of the *Hugonots*, when her Intereſts changed their Face, and ſhe began to grow *Jealous* of the *Princes* of the *Blood*, as ſhe had been before of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, made no ſcruple of Sacrificing thoſe of whom ſhe had undertaken the Patronage, or of Sealing with their Blood her Reconciliation to the *Guiſes*, in which her Hand was ſo deeply dipt; that the Scheme for the Univerſal Deſtruction of thoſe poor People was form'd in her Apartment, and the Young King wrought to authorize it by her Perſwaſions.

Application of the foregoing Story.

Tho' this Tragical Story (it is to be hop'd) is not applicable to *England* in all its Circumſtances, yet the firſt part of it comes ſo near us, that it makes it not improper to conſider the concluſion: For the certain Moral of it is uſeful in all Countries, and at all Times, however Peaceable and good Natur'd; That Friendſhips founded on Ambition are Fallacious and Dangerous, and never Laſting; for he that to ſerve a preſent Turn gives up his Old Friends, to ſerve a Future One will give up his new Ones to them to recover 'em again. The *Whigs* therefore will (if they be Wiſe) conſider for what Ends they are at preſent Careſs'd, and whether their own Share of the Nuts, they are employed to rake out of the Fire, be worth burning their Fingers for.

Growth of the Whigs dangerous to the preſent Miniſters.

On the other hand it may be no improper Speculation for the Miniſters, to weigh well the Nature of the Tools they work with, and to examine whether there be not more Danger of cutting their own Fingers, than of ſhaping their Deſigns right by 'em: *S--d--land*, whoſe Schemes they are ſuſpected to follow, found 'em once too hard for him; and his Maſter, for all his Indulgence to 'em, met with very Ungrateful Returns. Neither his Kindneſs, nor their own Solemn Promiſes of ſtanding by him with their Lives and Fortunes, cou'd keep 'em from Betraying Him upon the firſt Opportunity that preſented it ſelf; ſo far were they from keeping their Faith with Him, that they prov'd the bittereſt and moſt ungenteel Enemies he had. If the Tre——er expects more Gratitude from 'em, he deceives himſelf; for tho' they may uſe his Aſſiſtance to pull down the Church, yet their intire Confidence and Dependance will reſt elſewhere, and they will always be as ready to embrace any occaſion of Ruining Him, as they were of doing it to their Unhappy Indulgent Sovereign King *James*. And, leſt they ſhould pretend themſelves capable of ſuch Carriage only towards *Papiſts* and *Popery*, and call it the Tranſport of an

ardent Zeal; let their Behaviour towards the Church of *England*, which, immediately after an Attempt so provoking as a Conspiracy with the *Papists* to subvert her, in favour of them, repeal'd the *Penal* Laws, and gave 'em a *Perpetual Toleration* by a Law; let their Behaviour, we say, and Gratitude for that Indulgence be scann'd, and thence let a Judgment of their usual Returns be form'd. If therefore the *Faction*, buoy'd-up by the Ministers till it gathers Strength sufficient to get Uppermost, will in all probability turn it upon 'em to their Ruin; and if an unsuccessful Attempt so to buoy it up, will be almost as fatal to 'em from another Quarter; the Ministers wou'd do well to be very sure, that they are able to Steer clear of these Rocks, which no Man hither has done; or to change their course in Time, while there is room to Tack-About: They are Courtiers, and know that to trip up the Heels of those that raise 'em, is a familiar Court Practice; let 'em beware how they make it National, lest it come round to themselves.

The Tr — er may please himself with a Dream of Power and Popularity, and fancy himself some Mighty Monarch, when he sees his Levees crowded, and half a hundred Gentlemen waiting his Orders, and watching his Nods; but 'tis his Staff they follow, not him; if his Footman bore it, they would all be as obsequiously at his Heels. These are Insects, that can't live out of the Sun-shine of the Court; let it lie on which side it will, they must be in it. He that admires this sort of Court and Grandeur, may as justly fall in love with a Sunny Wall, with a swarm of shining Flies upon it. 'Tis wonderful that any Judicious, Experienc'd Person shou'd put any Confidence in such Transitory Friends, whom the first rude blast of Weather blows to an opposite Quarter, or the first glimpse of Favour elsewhere lures away from 'em: Yet this has been the common failing of most of our great Ministers, to neglect those who have constantly, and out of Principle or Inclination been in their, or the same Interest with 'em, to purchase those that have been in a contrary; as if they carried about 'em some Charm, that won'd make Men True to themselves, whom they could draw to be Unfaithful to others. No other Reason seems possibly to be given for this, than these, That most Statesmen are apt to presume upon the Superiority of their own Understanding, and to think that they may by vertue of it venture where others formerly in their Stations (and perhaps as conceited of their own Wisdom too) have miscarried; or that commonly their Designs are such as require Instruments, whose Consciences are more at Liberty than a Man of Honour's, who is tether'd by Principles, and can go but a measur'd just length, and by consequence is not so fit a

Tool

Tool for large Designs, as one that is neither scrupulous nor inquisitive beyond what he shall get himself for his pains.

All *Ages* and *Countries* have abounded with these obsequious *Prostitutes*, the Slaves of Prosperous Greatness, who Ply at the *Levee's* of *Great Men*, as *Porters* do in the *Streets*, only to put themselves in the way of being *Hir'd*, and keep *Better Men* away, who are afraid of Contracting a *Suspicion* of *Dishonesty* by appearing often in such Company. All *Favourites* have been equally attended by 'em during their Favour, and alike *Deserted* by 'em when that was gone. 'Twas not the *Man* but his *Fortune*, that they Courted. Yet, tho' very few have risen to be Prime Ministers, who did not know this, fewer have been able so far to Surmount their own Vanity, as to *Despise* a crowded *Levee*, and not to *Indulge* this sort of Court by *Returns* of *Favour*, and *Preferment*. But from the *Choice* of such *Agents* their *Designs* soon become Suspected to the *Honest Understanding Part* of the *World*, and that *Suspicion* generally renders those *Designs* abortive for which they were chosen. When Men of *Doubtful Integrity*, or *Obnoxious* to *Censure*, or even their *Partizans*, Men of their Stamp and Training-up are taken into *Grace* and *Confidence*, Wise Men grow justly apprehensive that the *Old Game* is to be play'd over again, or some other as *Foul*. They, that see the *Hand*, may easily judge what the *Play* will be.

When we see the Bill against *Occasional Conformity* so often rejected thro' the Means and Influence of the Ministers, even after it had been alter'd to the Terms upon which the first *Opposers* of it promised *Compliance*; And when the *Great Patrons* and *Asserters* of the Interest of the Church at Court, the Duke of *B--ham*, the Earls of *R---*, *N----m*, *J----sy*, *W---chelsea*, Sir *E--d Seymour*, Lord *G---ville*, *Gl---rd*, *G---wer*, Earl of *D---sert*, Sir *G--- Rook* turn'd out without the least Pretence or Colour of *Offence*; What can We judge of the Interest of the Church at Court? Perhaps We shall be told, that some of these went out Voluntarily, and that the Queen so far approv'd their Service, that She Earnestly desir'd the Continuance of it in the *Same* or *Better Posts*. We grant it, and humbly Thank Her Majesty for her Gracious Thoughts both of the *Church* and its *Friends*. But what then must We think of those Ministers, who render Joynt-Service with 'em *Insupportable* to those who have the Highest Veneration and Affection for Her Majesty's Person and Government? May We not justly Suspect, that they saw such things carrying on, as they could neither *Concur* in nor *Prevent*; and therefore Consulted their own Honour, and laid down, lest by Appearing to Countenance 'em, they should share the *Imputation*? But what will they say to those other *Noble Persons*, who not being of the *Cabinet Council*, had no other

Means

Means of keeping things right, than by doing their *Duty* steadily in their Places? Were they guilty of any *Offence?* Or was any thing Objected to 'em that might *Deserve* to be Punish'd with the Loss of their *Places?* No! their Services too were Approv'd, and their Fidelity Commended, but themselves *Dismist.* What can be the *Meaning* of all this? If Places were sold by Allowance, We might imagine, that some Persons were apprehensive of a *Storm,* and therefore made hast to get in their *Hay* while the Sun shin'd. But surely Places are not Sold, at least not all of 'em; and therefore that can't be the Reason of all these *Extraordinary Changes.* However it be, by the *Choice of Whiggs* to succeed, it looks as if some Persons had a Design to guard all the *Avenues* to the Queen with their *own Creatures,* and to *Exclude* the Poor Declining Church and its Friends from all manner of Access to Her.

The present Prospect of the Church is very Melancholy; and whatever *Undiscerning People* may think, or some, that wou'd *blind* Us say, that of the Government is not much more comfortable. For if, while the Court was for us, the House of Lords almost entirely with us, and the House of Commons undebauch'd in their Principles, and the Laws vigorous on our side, even in those days *Whigs, Republicans* and *Phanaticks,* increas'd and multiply'd upon us: How will they insult us now, when all our Strength is reduc'd to a Remnant in the House of Commons only, and those oppos'd by the other H--se, brow-beaten by the Court, and aspers'd, vilified and abus'd by the *Whigs, Republicans* and *Phanaticks* all the Nation over! How ought we to reverence and cherish the constant Honourable Few, who, above the Temptations of the Ministers, or the unjust Clamour of the *Whigs,* by their Courage and Bravery alone sustain our Cause!

There was a Time when our Clergy defended our Church against the Joint-Attacks of *Papists* and *Phanaticks,* with a Courage becoming the Cause they serv'd: But, alas! many of those Reverend Persons that animated and led 'em are dead; the Church has lost Seventeen of those Heroick Prelates that gave Life and Vigor to those Noble Sentiments, and most of their Places are fill'd with Men of another Stamp, who, not being warm'd themselves with the same Zeal for it, by preaching *Indifference* to the Interests of the *Church,* under the Specious, Deceitful *Name* of *Moderation,* have very much *Dampt,* and in a manner *Extinguished* that *Noble Spirit,* which their *Predecessours* had Infused into the *Inferiour Clergy.* However, our Case is not so *Desperate,* but that we have some *Bishops* left, who do not owe their *Promotion* to *S---land* or *So-----ers;* but still Retain their *Primitive Integrity,* and *Affecti-*

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on to the *Church*, of which they are *True Sons*, and *Tender Fathers*, Men, whose Reputation is not built upon the Sandy Bottom of a Treacherous *Moderation*, nor their Heads vainly filled with *Chimerical Notions* of an Impracticable *Comprehension*, but who are justly Rever'd for their Piety, and Honour'd for their Steadiness; Men, who, under the general Indefinite Term of *Protestant*, have not lost the Important Distinction between a *Church* of *England-Man* and a *Fanatick*, and wou'd not put *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *Socinians*, under the common Negative Idea of *Protestants*, into equal Credit and Authority with the *Church* of *England*; Men, who are neither to be Awed by *L--beth*, nor Wheedl'd by *Sarum* out of their Principles, but can Construe *Thirty Nine Articles* without an *Exposition*; and Dare give a *Vote* for a *New Law* to Secure the *Church* of *England*, when by *Jesuitical Shifts*, the Intent and End of the *Old* are frustrated; Men, who, tho' the Court be the Fountain of Preferment, Dare withstand it in *Defence* of the *Church*, and who wou'd not, in Complaisance to any *Ministers*, leave it the only *Protestant* Community not Secur'd by *Law*.

The humble Petition of the Church to the Bishops.

From the Pious Endeavours of these Reverend and Worthy Prelates, in conjunction with the Lower House of Convocation, the Church humbly hopes, and earnestly entreats that the Lower Clergy (who want only to be headed and countenanc'd) may be encourag'd to exert themselves in the Defence of that Church from which they receive their Bread; and that they may be instructed to shew their respective Congregations the innumerable Evils that flow from that dangerous, but too much receiv'd Position, That *there ought to be no distinction amongst* Protestants; let 'em instruct 'em in the Nature of *True Moderation*, and exhort 'em to the Practice of it; but let 'em make 'em truly sensible of the vast Difference between that *Moderation*, which is a Virtue, and a part of the Moral Duty of every Christian; and the *Moderation* so *Fashionable*, and so much *Recommended* of late, which is nothing but Lukewarmness in Religion, and Indifference in every thing that relates to the Service of God, and the Interest of his *Church*; let 'em make it appear that the *Toleration* may and shall be maintain'd without suffering the *Dissenters* to ride upon our Necks, and that there is no *High Churchman* (as they abusively call us) of us all, who wou'd break in upon the *Toleration*, if it were in their Power, provided, that the Ambition of the *Dissenters* wou'd stop there. Let 'em Remonstrate to 'em the *Scandal* and *Sin* of *Occasional Conformity*, and the Heinousness of *Mocking* or *Dissembling* with *GOD*, in so Solemn an *Act* of *Devotion*, as the Approaching the *Lord's Table*. Let 'em

'em Reprove *Wantonneſs* and *Wavering* in *Religion*, and Rambling after *Variety* of *Religious Exerciſes*, which argues more *Curioſity* than *Devotion*. *Laſtly*, Let 'em in their *Converſations* with their *Neighbours* Repreſent to 'em the Preſent Real *Danger* of the *Church* and *State*, and from *Whom* it is fear'd, as from this *Memorial* or other fuller Evidence, they ſhall be Convinced; and by rightly Stating the Truth of *Facts* to 'em, let 'em Vindicate thoſe Worthy Patriots in both *Houſes* (eſpecially the *Houſe* of *Commons*) who are Aſpers'd for their juſt Endeavours to Settle and Secure the Church and Civil State, and more Eſpecially at this time Maliciouſly *Repreſented* to the *People* by the *Enemies* of Both. To all theſe things, as We doubt not of your Lordſhips Concurrence and Direction, ſo We hope thro' the *Bleſſing* of *GOD* upon the Sincere Endeavours of your Clergy, to ſee the Church Triumph over the *Malice* of its *Enemies*, the Nation Settled in *Laſting Peace*, and Both Indebted to the *Zeal* and *Piety* of your Lordſhips, to whom, tho' not the Major Part in Number of your own Order, the Whole Glory of Eſtabliſhing It for Ever, will, next to *GOD*, be mainly Due. If any of our Clergy remain ſtill Prejudic'd, and Intoxicated with the Vain Hopes of a Comprehenſion, let 'em know, that the *Diſſenters* univerſally *Laugh* at 'em for a Project ſo Impracticable, and Deſpiſe 'em for their *Weakneſs* in Propounding an Expedient ſo Impolitick on their Part; if it were practicable, no Man alive could ever yet tell on what Terms the *Diſſenters* would accept of a Comprehenſion; nor can the Wiſeſt of the *Church-Comprehenders* ſay on what he expects they ſhou'd. Do they Propoſe, That the *Diſſenters* ſhou'd come over to the Church, or the Church go over to the Diſſenters? If either of theſe Miraculous Changes cou'd be wrought, it wou'd not be Comprehenſion, but Converſion. Let thoſe that expect the Former, do their utmoſt to bring it about; let 'em in their *Sermons* and their *Writings*, endeavour to Convince the ſeveral Sorts of Diſſenters of their reſpective Errors. The High-Church-Men (as they call 'em) are ready to joyn with 'em in ſo good a *Work*. At the worſt 'tis but ſo much Pious Labour loſt, if they gain no ground upon the Diſſenters, and may probably have this good Effect, that it will Fix again thoſe whom a falſe miſtaken Notion of *Moderation* has Unſettled. As for thoſe, who deſire the Church ſhould go over to the Diſſenters, let 'em ſet the Example, which can't fail of bearing this good Fruit, that either they will be follow'd, which will Satisfie *their End*, or their Places will be Fill'd with *Better Church-Men*, which will anſwer *Ours*; and both ways put an end to this ſcandalous Fluctuation, this halting between ſeveral Opinions, and the Church arrives at ſome Settlement.

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As for those who are for compounding with the *Dissenters*, and for *meeting 'em* (as their Phrase is) *half way*, they are either exceeding weak Men, or worse deluded Persons, or Renegado's. There are three ways by which the *Dissenters* have receded and gone off from us, and consequently as many by which they may, and must return to us, if ever they mean to do it, *(viz.) Doctrine*, *Discipline*, and *Worship*. Which of these ways wou'd these Men of Comprehension have us meet 'em with our Advances? In less than All, *Dissenters* themselves have often declar'd they will not be satisfied, nor stir one step towards us; and in All *We* can't make any, without *mutilating* or *adulterating* the pure Christian Faith, *condemning* our most excellent Church, and in a manner *apostatizing* from, and utterly *subverting* it. We have been often told, That the *Protestant Dissenters* agree with us in all the *Main* and *Fundamental* Points of the Christian Faith, and differ from us only in Trifles, and Points not Essential. If this be true, Why did they separate from us? and why do they not immediately return into the Bosom of the Church, who, if this be all the Ground of their Separation, is ready with open Arms to receive 'em? For our Church is not so rigid, or so capricious, as to require an absolute Uniformity of Sentiments among her Sons in Matters of *Doubt* or *Speculation*, which are not Essential to the True Faith, nor Necessary to the Maintenance of Order and good Discipline: She does not require implicit Faith, nor command her Sons to *believe as the Church believes*, whether they comprehend her Meaning or not, or can be convinc'd in their Understandings that those things are True which she delivers as such. She cou'd wish, indeed, that all her Sons had as sound and clear Understandings to embrace all useful Truths, as strong Constitutions to digest all wholsome Food: but, like a tender indulgent Mother, she does not reject those *weak Ones* who through Infirmity can't receive all that is good and conducive, if they admit all that is Essential to the Christian Faith, and Necessary to Christian Communion. Those therefore that dissent from the Church of *England* on Points not of this Number, in their own Opinions at least stand Self-condemn'd, and can't excuse themselves from the Guilt of *Obstinate Unreasonable Schism*.

Those *Dissenters* that would alter our *Hierarchy*, and change our *whole Ecclesiastical Polity*, deal indeed fairly with Us, and let Us know what they wou'd be at: That is, provided We come over entirely to *Them*, they will be so *Gracious* as to *Comprehend* Us; but this *Grace* We can't expect from those of 'em only, who are for a *Comprehension* in their *Sense*; that is, for *Pardoning* Us *Schismaticks* of the *Church* of *England*. The *Presbyterians* pre-

tend to have less *Aversion* for Us, and to approach our Church nearer than any other sort of *English Dissenters*. But we have had such a taste of *Lenity* and *Indulgence* in the *Iniquity* and *Violence* of the *Proceedings* of the *Kirk* of *Scotland* against the *Episcopal Church*, which less than *Twenty Years* ago was the Establish'd Church of that Nation, that we must be infatuated to *Extremity*, shou'd we suffer them to get the *Power*, and still hope to be *Tolerated* in our own way. They who have made it *High Treason* there, by Preaching, or Argument, in Discourse or Writing, to defend *Episcopacy*, are not like to be very Indulgent to it here, whenever they shall have it in their Power to be Severe. Besides, as all the *Hope* which the *English Presbyterians* entertain of prevailing here at some time or other, is founded on their expectations of *Assistance* from their Brethren in *Scotland*, can we flatter our selves that an *Arm'd Power* of *Scots*, which shou'd come *Strong* enough to Force their *Discipline* upon us, wou'd not have the Garbling of our Land, as well as the Modelling of our Church? The *Northern* Counties still remember the Old *Scotch* Cant, *We come for aw your Gudes*, which they made constantly good in the Literal Sense, upon all their *Moveables*, wherever they were not frighted or beaten off in time. And the whole *Nation* knows the time when *the Saints shall Inherit the Earth*, was thought Law sufficient to give a Set of Men, who *Sainted* themselves, a *Title* to the *Lands* and *Possessions* of the *Wicked* and *Malignants*, which was every Man whose *Estate* they coveted.

This must necessarily be the Case of any *Nation*, where it shall become a general *Article* of *Faith*, That *Dominion is Founded in Grace*. For the Body of all Nations being no nice Discerners, the People will be cheated by the *Prestigious Tricks* of Impudent *Hypocrites*, and False *Enthusiasts*; who will always take upon 'em to be Judges of the Measure of their own Grace, and of all other Mens, and thereby assume an Arbitrary, Tyrannical Dominion over all Honest, Wise Men, whose *Consciences* will not suffer 'em to make those *Scandalous*, *Hypocritical Pretensions*. This was the *Orthodox Divinity*, and these the Consequences, which follow'd the *Scotch Reformers* into *England*; and these must follow 'em again, if ever they are suffer'd to return hither.

Episcopacy, not to be Moderated to the Dissenters taste.

But perhaps some *Comprehension Low* Church-Man will tell us, that they do not intend to *comply* so far with the Dissenters, as to consent to the *Abolishing* of *Episcopacy*, but only to condescend so far to the Weakness of our *Dissenting Brethren*, as to Moderate it, and to gratify 'em by taking away some *Extravagant Branches* of the Power of

a Bishop. They that think by such Compliances to Reconcile any sort of Dissenters to the Church, will find themselves very wide of the *Mark*, when they shall come to the *Experiment*: For there is scarce any sort of Dissenters who do not exercise more *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* among themselves, and fulminate Men with their *Spiritual Thunder* more frequently and freely than the Church of *England* does. It is not therefore that any sort of Clergy does not think their Church indued with as Great Authority and Coercive Power over the Laity, as the Church of *England* has at any time since the *Reformation* exercis'd; but their Censures being in this Nation meer *Bruta Fulmina*, that is, being neither Allow'd nor Supported by the Secular Magistrate, the Law has taken away their Sting, which it has not done to those of the National Church; the Dissenting Clergy wou'd therefore be glad that the Law wou'd restore the Sting to their Censures, that they might become more Awful to their Congregations, or that it were taken away from those of the Church; that its Ministers might be wronged in their Dues, and its Self affronted in its Discipline, with more Licence and Impunity. It is not the *Title* of *Lord*, nor the Authority which a *Bishop*, as such has, that offends these Men; but it is the small Number of *Bishopricks* that gives so few of 'em room to hope to arrive at the Dignity and Power, of which so many of 'em are *Ambitious*.

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction strain'd by the Dissenters far above the Practice of the Church.

The *Presbyterians* therefore, by lodging the Jurisdiction of Arch-Bishops and Bishops in their Synods and Classes, tho' they have not provided so amply for the Ambition of some, yet they have more liberally and equally for that of all their Clergy; for in their Democratical Scheme of a Church, they have given to their whole Clergy an infinitely greater *Power* than ours pretends to, even equal to that of the Church of *Rome*; and by their Distribution into *Classes* and *Synods*, they give 'em every one a Share, under the Denomination of *Classical* or *Synod-Men*, of Dominion over the Laity, and entirely exempt 'em from Lay Jurisdiction.

Synodical Popery, the Foundation of Presbetry.

The *Independents*, by another sort of Distribution, carry the Authority of every Individual Priest yet higher; every particular Pastor is *Archbishop* of his Congregation; a *Diminutive Pope* in his little Dominions; Absolute, Arbitrary, and Uncontroulable in Spirituals; Subject and Accountable in matters of Religion (as he pretends) to none but *God*; whose par-

Congregational, of Independency.

ticular, but private Call to the Miniſtry, by way of perpetual Inſpiration, he pleads as his Commiſſion and Warrant for whatever he does, which none but *God* that gave it him can exact any Account of, in barr to all Human Authority. Thus the *Independent*'s Prieſt lodges in himſelf the *Infallible* Judicature *in Sacris*, from whence there is no Appeal; which the *Presbyterian* with more Modeſty reſolves ultimately into, and places in the laſt Reſort, in the *National Synod*; ſo that the *Presbyterians* have but *One Pope* in each *Nation*, which is the *Synod*; and the ſeveral Miniſters of which it is compoſed, are but ſo many Limbs of Antichriſt; whereas the *Independents* have a *Little Pope* in every Congregation, and every Individual Preacher among 'em is a whole Petty Antichriſt himſelf.

No terms of Comprehenſion offer'd by the Diſſenters.

Upon what Terms then do theſe Moderate Men, theſe Comprehenders, propound a Coalition between Our Church and Theſe? Will the *Presbyterians* part with their *Synodical Popery*, or the *Independents* their *Congregational*? Or do the Firſt deſire to make their *Synodical* Syſtem the National Church? Or the Latter to turn their *Congregations* into *Pariſhes* by *Act of Parliament*? That is, in fewer Words, Do they offer to come Over to Us, or require that We ſhou'd to Them? For, by whichſoever of the ways abovemention'd ſuch a Coalition ſhou'd be effected, the proper *Name* for it (as we have already obſerv'd) wou'd be *Converſion*, not Comprehenſion. If they, or any of 'em are willing to come Over to Us, we here again repeat our Promiſe to receive 'em with *Open Arms*, and to forget all paſt *Unkindneſſes*; which we hope is *Teſtimony* ſufficient of our *Moderation*; but if they ſtill inſiſt that We ſhould come Over to Them, We deſire them, or their New Friends the *Moderate Church-Men*, to find ſome New Arguments that may ſatisfie our Conſciences, without Reproach to which we can't ſeriouſly intend any ſuch Thing upon the *Old Baffled Arguments* of the *Diſſenters*, which have been ſo often, and ſo ſufficiently anſwer'd already: Nor can we, without incurring the Cenſure of miſpending our Time, conſider 'em any farther; and therefore we likewiſe pray this *Favour* of 'em, that whatever they ſhall hereafter offer on this Subject, may be new, and to the purpoſe, withovt Impertinence or Scurrility: For we are not at Leiſure to conſider *Bagatelles*, nor of a Humour to anſwer *Ribaldry*, ſuch as of late have been generally offer'd on their behalf, which is another Proof of our *Candour* and *Moderation*, ſuch as they are not able to give for themſelves.

Thoſe

Those that know how Arbitrary and Unlimited an Authority these Dissenting *Guides* have at all times Usurped, where they Prevail'd, will have little Hope of an Accommodation from any Concessions on their part in point of Discipline or Spiritual Jurisdiction. The most Reasonable and Moderate of 'em, the *Presbyterians*, have always set themselves and their own Censures above all Laws, and pretended, that the Sentencing and Correction of Sinners without Limitation of kind either of Sin or Punishment, belong'd to them, as the Ministers of Christ, by which unbounded Privilege they drew to themselves the Judicature in all Cases in the last Resort, and consequently the Absolute Sovereignty over all Ranks and Conditions of Men. This is still practis'd in *Scotland*, where, upon whatever account the *Presbytery* is pleas'd to Excommunicate any one, the Custom of *Horning* still remains, that is, of seizing all his Estate and Effects at the Sound of a *Horn*, which is the *Kirk*'s Warrant for Execution; and against this Sentence (however Unjust) the Government dare not give any Relief: So terrible is the *Kirk* to it. This they pretended to, and exercis'd (tho' not by the *Horn*) in *England*, in the time of their Usurpation, till the very *Rump* it self, their own Creature, would no longer endure such extravagant Domineering, and thought fit by an Ordinance to circumscribe it, as *Nye* the famous *Assembliſt* complains.

Discipline of the Dissenters Arbitrary and Unlimited.

* *The Exercise of Discipline in our Congregations was ordered by the* Parliament, *but limited likewse to an enumeration of the Sins for which we might Excommunicate, exempting other Sinners, that were as much under our charge. This was look'd on by the Assembly, as a great abridgment of their* Ministerial Liberty, *and so great, as they profess'd, it could not with a good Conscience be submitted to, as not being able to perform their Trust, which they receiv'd from* Jesus Christ, *and must give an Account of to him, resolving to stand fast in the Liberty wherewith* Christ *hath made them Free.*

* Nye's *Beams of former Light*, p. 98.

This is a Note above *Ela*, a Strain beyond *Popery*. For the *Pope*, as High a Churchman as he is, restrains his Spiritual Thunder to Sins enumerated and defined in the *Canon Law* of that Church. But the Saints, good Men, are for fulminating at Discretion, and delivering over to Satan whomsoever they please, without any stated Rule, or Restriction of Law. The *Synodists* and *Assembliſts* would be at once Law-givers, Judges, and Jury, and make and execute the Law at the same instant. This may seem Extravagant, and look

Absolute Popery.

look like a Misrepresentation to those that are ignorant of the Foundation, Nature, and Extent of their Discipline. But 'tis conviction *ex Ore proprio*, 'tis what is to be found in all their Writings, what they have all argu'd for, when Time was, as much as *Nye* before-cited, and what they have exercis'd, and would exercise still, did not the fear of the Laws, and the better Example of the Church restrain 'em at present. Were those Obstacles remov'd, there is no doubt but they would resume their ancient Practice, and domineer as much *Here* as in *Scotland*. Nor cou'd they upon their Principles justifiably do otherwise. For if (as the *Independents* pretend) they are immediate Organs thro' which Christ acts and speaks by present Inspiration, Who dare refuse their Authority, that pretends to be a Christian? *Infallibility* attends *Inspiration*, and appealing from Them, is appealing from Him, as in their Writings they frequently tell Us. This is the very Foundation and Essence of *Popery* refin'd upon. Both ground their *Usurpations* upon Mankind on the Special Authority of Heaven. But the Pope is in one Point more Modest, and more Ingenuous than they; for he claims his Universal Vicarship under the Scriptures, which we read and understand as well as he, and therefore dispute and reject his Title: But they pretend a Warrant of a superiour Nature, an immediate Call, and require us to take that upon their own base Words, which no Man is bound to believe under the Evidence of Miracles.

Address to the Moderate-Clergy.

Consider, we beseech you, Brethren, of the Church of *England*, you especially, that pretend to more Moderation than the rest, whether the Designs of these *Separatists* tend, and whether you can be content to follow 'em thro' all the senseless Mazes of crack-brain'd or knavish Enthusiasm. Yet so you must do, or be at last upon worse Terms with 'em than now you are; if once, in condescention to their Obstinacy and Whimsies, you stir a step out of the direct paths of the Church, your least deviation after 'em will be call'd a *Conviction*, and you will be treated as Reprobates, that had a sight of Grace, but are fallen from it again, whenever you shall refuse to dance any farther after their Pipe.

To shew upon what Terms or Warrant they expect or desire a Comprehension.

But you wou'd win them over to You. The Design is Pious; but what Hopes have you of it? Have not all Attempts hitherto to bring any *Sect* of 'em over in a Body, prov'd all such Projects to be vain? Do you know whether they would advance one step towards you, or on what Terms? Has any Body offer'd any thing on their Part, for which he can shew their Commission? If no such

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Advances have been made, Whither is it you would lead Us, or to what End? If the parting with a few Ceremonies in the form of our Worſhip (however decent and ſignificant we do now and ſhall continue to think 'em) will reconcile and unite 'em ſincerely to our Church, We are ready to ſacrifice 'em to their Scruples, if we can't upon an amicable diſcuſſion of 'em ſatisfie thoſe Scruples. But let 'em then ſtate their Demands, and give us Demonſtration, that it is neither an Illuſion (as the *Savoy* Conference about ſuch an Union, ſoon after the *Reſtoration* was) nor the preſumption of private Perſons, without the Authority of the Body in general to which they retain.

Compliant Offers of the Church of England.

We are not (as we are by ill Men repreſented) ſuch ſtiff Defenders of any Form, or thing not Eſſential, as to ſuffer a Schiſm in the Church for 'em, if we cou'd remedy it; and tho' we are ſenſible, that there is more Humour and Deſign, than conſcientious Exception, in the Objections to our moſt excellent *Liturgy*; yet we had rather (if it can't be otherwiſe) bear ſome Deformity in the outward Face of our Worſhip, than that the *Church of Chriſt* ſhould really be Diſmember'd. For this We have not only the Warrant of our own Judgments, but of the Whole Church in that incomparable Preface to the Book of *Common Prayer*, drawn up by the moſt Learned of our Prelates and Divines, and approv'd by the Whole Clergy of both Provinces, aſſembled in Convocation. The Senſe of the Church is thus expreſs'd in that Preface: *It hath been the Wiſdom of the Church of* England, *ever ſince the firſt compiling of her* Publick Liturgy, *to keep the mean between the two Extremes, of too much Stiffneſs in refuſing, and too much Eaſineſs in admitting any Variation from it. For, as on the one ſide common Experience ſheweth, that where a Change hath been made of things adviſedly eſtabliſh'd (no evident Neceſſity ſo requiring) ſundry Inconveniencies have thereupon enſued; and thoſe, many times, more and greater than the Evils that were intended to be remedied by ſuch Change: So on the other ſide, the particular Forms of Divine Worſhip, and the Rights and Ceremonies appointed to be uſed therein, being Things in their own Nature indifferent, and alterable, and ſo acknowledged; it is but reaſonable, that upon weighty and important Conſiderations, according to the various exigencies of the Times and Occaſions, ſuch Changes and Alterations ſhould be made therein, as to thoſe that are in place of Authority ſhould from time to time ſeem neceſſary, or expedient. Let 'em therefore ſhew to the Right Reverend* Fathers *of the* Church, *and thoſe that are in Authority, what Alterations they deſire, and the evident neceſſity or expediency of ſuch Alterations, and no doubt but they will meet with a cheerful compliance from 'em.* But if they are neither

ther able to shew the necessity or expediency requir'd, nor willing to express clearly and fully what they would have, let 'em be at least so just as to cease their causeless Clamour: for we have gone as far as in Prudence or Conscience we ought, without farther evident Necessity.

Moderate Men challeng'd to explain their Meaning.

But before we dismiss quite the consideration of the Desires or Designs of the Dissenters, We challenge the pretended *Moderate* Men, their Advocates, to explain to Us what sort of *Moderation* they require of Us, and to shew us their own. We don't persecute the Dissenters, nor desire that they ever should be persecuted. We have very willingly bound up our own Hands from doing that, to which our Hearts are as averse as the most *Moderate* Men of 'em all. We have perpetuated the *Toleration* to the Dissenters, and are ready to joyn it at any time to what farther Security We shall ask for ourselves. We are ambitious of, and have demanded nothing but what we have a Right to, a perpetuation of our Settlement, which, we have reason to think, has been a long time design'd against. What can be more *Moderate* than such an equitable Desire? But if, under the fallacious Name of *Moderation*, they would have us treacherously abandon all Care and Solicitude for the Security of the Church, they do by their false *Moderation* awaken Us, and excite our Vigilance; for they give Us just Reason to suspect, that they have confederated with our Enemies, and are in the Plot against Us, as in effect We see they are by the opposition which, in conjunction with them, they make to Us on all occasions. But whether *Ignorance* or *Treachery* has led 'em into these Measures, their *Obstinacy* or *Repentance* will discover.

Their own clamour matter of Argument and Caution against 'em.

It will be hard for 'em to persuade us that we are in no Danger, while they press us every Session of Parliament with their Apprehensions of the *Papists*; who, tho' our Enemies, are inconsiderable for Number or Power compar'd with the *Phanaticks*, who are equally inveterate Enemies of the *Church*, and more of *Monarchical Government*. Nor want we Proof of this; We need only to look into their Writings, or cast an Eye back upon what they did here to both *Church* and *State*, or forward to what they do at this instant to the Church in *Sc--land*. If therefore a handful of disarm'd, disabl'd Men, be so terrible, upon the Score of their Disaffection only, to require more and more severe Laws to curb 'em: What Reasons have we not to fear those, who, being at least as Well Arm'd as Ourselves, are mix'd among us, and lodg'd, as it were, in our Bosoms, and appear Powerful enough to ri-

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val, nay, even to turn us out of the Civil Administration, and to procure Laws to be made in Their own Favour, and to hinder any from passing in Ours? We have had too dismal Experience of their Tenderness for us, when they got us down, to trust to their Mercy: And the Arming of *Sc---land*, our Enemies by *ancient Aversion*, and at this Time by *pretended fresh Provocation*, with whom our *Phanaticks* have more than once heretofore join'd (nay, have indeed call'd them in to our Destruction) seems to threaten such another Juncture, and gives us but too lively an Apprehension of our present Condition, and does, as it were, bid every Honest *English*-man be upon his Guard, especially the Church-men, who must expect no Quarter.

Our only hope at present in the Queen and next Parliament.

For these *Evils*, so much to be fear'd, we have little hope of *Remedy*, but from the assured Goodness and Affection of the Queen, for her Church, or the Wisdom and hearty Resolution of the next Parliament. But if the Ministers should misinform and mislead the Queen, as Ministers have sometimes the Opportunity of doing by very Wise and Good Princes: And if they should violently meddle with Elections, and presume so far as to Closet and make new Regulations, What might the Result of these Things be? If these Practices shou'd have the desir'd Influence, and produce a Corrupt Parliament, might not the Queen want the *Power* when she had the *Will* to rectifie these Abuses? But, suppose with the utmost struggle such a Majority shou'd be chosen as wou'd not be debauch'd, nor sell Themselves or their Posterity for Slaves to any Ministry; How shall they be assur'd that they shall not be sold by Others three years hence? Since the Sting of Impeachments and other Prosecutions of Ministers for Publick Misdemeanors, has been taken away, the People are the Sheep, the Asses (or what they please to make 'em) of Great Men; They may fleece, or ride, or slay, or what else they please to do with us, *impune*. Inferiour Courts dare not meddle with 'em; and they can bring Themselves before Themselves, and then all the reason in the World that they shou'd acquit Themselves; and who dare question their Judicature, a Thing so Sacred that it must not be touch'd?

Rights and Privileges of the Commons insulted.

But the Rights and Privileges of all the Commons of *England* are Trifles, that every Cobler, every Fellow that takes Alms of the Parish, may call in question *coram non Judice*, when he, or the person that supports the Suit of the Cobler, pleases. Suppose then that any Lord shou'd order a Dozen or a

Score of his Tenants to go and vote in any Corporation where they have no Right: If the *Mayor*, or *Conſtable*, or whoever takes the Poll, admits their Votes, there is One, and perhaps Two wrong Members return'd to Parliament; and where ſhall the Electors, who have had the Uſe and End of their Right of Election taken from them by Intruders and a timorous Officer, have Redreſs, and procure themſelves to be rightly repreſented? Shall they have it in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, or in the Houſe of Lords? No; They profeſs they have nothing to do to determin concerning the Right of Elections. But here is a *Falſe Return* made, and Who ſhall judge and give Redreſs, is the Queſtion. Why, 'tis confeſs'd of all hands that the Houſe of Commons ſhall, as the only proper Judges. How ſhall they determin concerning the Election, without judging ſovereignly concerning this Right of the Electors? If they can't do that, they are liable to have their Judgments revers'd, and to have Members forc'd upon 'em: For, the Dueneſs of an *Election* follows the Right of the *Electors*; and by the ſame Method that Two may be forc'd upon them, Two hundred may, or indeed Five hundred and Thirteen.

Perplexity of Elections, and danger to their Freedom ariſing therefrom.

But let us ſuppoſe that the Mayor or Conſtable does his Duty like an honeſt couragious Man, and refuſes to take their Poll, and the Lord in his Pride and Wrath orders 'em every one to bring a ſeveral Action againſt that Mayor or Conſtable, and bears 'em out in it at his own Expence: The Judges bring this to Tryal, and do Juſtice thereupon, and declare the Plaintiff had *no* Right to Poll; yet what Reparation to the poor Man, who has born the Charge of twenty Suits? Does our Law give ſufficient Damages in ſuch vexatious Suits? No: But the Lord cauſes them to bring Writs of Error, and gets the Judgments of *Weſtminſter-Hall* revers'd, and great Damages given to the Appellants; then here is an honeſt Man ruin'd for doing his Duty. Will not this make all Men *Freeholders* or *Freemen* of what County or Corporation they ſhall pleaſe to take a Liberty with their Conſciences in? 'Tis no Anſwer to ſay that the Lords are not capable of ſuch manifeſt Injuſtice; 'twas rightly ſaid, That *they that may do Right, may do Wrong*; and when Men violently thruſt themſelves into the Judgment of a Cauſe, 'tis ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected that the meer love of *Impartial Juſtice* was not their only Motive.

Aylsbury *Caſe.*

We do not ſay that this is exactly the Caſe of the Conſtables of *Aylsbury*, for the late Conſtables of *Aylsbury* have as yet had but Six ſeveral Actions brought againſt 'em, and of theſe but One has been

been brought to Judgment in *Westminster-Hall*, and from thence remov'd by Writ of Error into the House of Lords, and the Judgment thereupon revers'd, and great Damages (far beyond whatever the Appellant was thought worth) given to the Appellant; nor has any Noble Lord own'd that the Plaintiffs are his Tenants or Servants, or directly and expresly avow'd that they sue by his Order, and at his Charges. For, tho' a * *Noble Lord* did tell some of us at a *Free Conference*, That *he knew a great deal of the matter*, perhaps he might not mean of the Contrivance and Charges of these Suits; for 'tis possible, these Men being *extreme Poor*, were therefore resolv'd to vindicate their pretended Right at an *Expence* which they knew themselves far unable to bear; and that, knowing by their great Acquaintance in *Westminster-Hall*, and a Superiour Court, from some Suits of his own, what a strenuous Assertor of other Mens Rights that Noble Peer was, they might presume upon his Support without his privity, in a Case so full of Precedents.

* *L.* W----n.

The *Rank*, *Education*, and *other Circumstances* of the * Plaintiffs, incline us to think they might dispense with the Ceremony of Writing, a thing Persons of their Quality are seldom good at; and that their present Familiarity with that Noble Lord, their Interest in Him, and his Knowledge of Them and their Case, may proceed from a Natural Instinct, a Generous Sympathy between *Great Souls*, without *Information*. Nay, and 'tis possible, we say *possible*, that his Lordship's Agent, Mr. *Cl*-----*n*, might without any Warrant or Order from his Lordship, pay for their Lodgings in *Newgate*, *de proprio*, only in Maintenance of their Cause, or for some extraordinary Graces and Charms he (after his Lordship's great Example) met with in their Persons and Conversation. But if the Lawyers too, a Race of Men generally insensible to all Charms but those of *Money*; we say, If these Men, impregnable to Grace, shou'd have been inspir'd with the same Generous Sentiments, and, shaking off the Mercenary Love of Filthy Lucre, have resolv'd, *without Fees*, Right or Wrong, and in spight of Law, Reason or Parliament, to maintain the Pretensions of these *bewitching Men*, and the Laws and Customs of the Borough notwithstanding, to make 'em *Free-Burghers* of *Aylsbury*, the Case wou'd be full of Wonder and Astonishment! But, oh graceless obdurate House of Commons! that didst not melt like Wax before the Fire, at the approach of such Wonder-working Men to this City, as cou'd so soften a Noble Lord not fam'd for *Softness*, and Four famous Lawyers as *hard as Flints!* Oh happy *Aylsbury!* whose very

* *Inhabitants of Cottages upon the Town waste, that receiv'd Alms.*

Refuse is so surprizing! What must thy *Chief Burghers* be, when such alluring Persons are *Pass'd away* from thy Parishes!

Hardships that may arise upon this Precedent to all Officers taking the Poll at Elections.

But if all this shou'd not spring from meer *Inspiration* and *Rapture*, but (as it does sometimes in human Affairs) from *foul Practice*, *Confederacy* and *Collusion*; and if these Men neither sue *for their own Sakes*, nor *with their own Money*, but are prompted and supported by *some Great Person* who is resolv'd to command in that Borough, or perhaps to break a Way through the House of Lords into the House of Commons: then the *real* Case of the Constables of *Aylsbury* may very far exceed the foregoing *suppos'd* Case in hardship, and these Six Actions may be but the Forerunners of Six-score more. At this rate the most substantial Mayor, or Officer concern'd in taking the Poll at any place, may be ruin'd by the false Actions of Beggars, against whom he can have no Remedy but that which the Proverb assigns him. This is downright breaking the Fences of *Freehold*, and levelling a Man of *Property* and *Privilege* with him that has *neither*: For what Officer will dare to refuse a Vote, tho' he shou'd know that the person who offers it has no Right, and is a Beggar, when he knows that he may be sued, and tho' he shou'd Nonsuit the Plaintiff, can recover no Costs of him who is not worth a Groat? Beggars, on the other hand, will be ready at all times to present themselves at Elections as Purse-proud busie Men shall direct, and to lend their Names to vexatious Suits, that by being the Instruments of their Ambition or Revenge, they may entitle themselves to their Encouragement and Support: But the Privilege of the People as *Freeholders*, *Citizens*, *Free-Burghers*, and Inhabitants of Cities, Towns-Corporate and Boroughs, vanishes under a promiscuous Usurpation, and the House of Commons will be fill'd with the Representatives of Vassals, Beggars, and Vagabonds, instead of those of the People, which puts an end at once to *Free Parliaments*, which take their Name and Essence from the *Freedom* and *Independency* of the Electors, who have upon that Score only a Right to send Representatives to Parliament.

Freedom its self Impair'd by such Usurpations.

He that takes away the Privileges that distinguish between a Vassal or Slave, and a Freeman, takes away Freedom it self, which consists in the Sovereign or unrestrained Exercise of certain Privileges, of which that of being bound only by Laws of our own making is the Greatest, and the very Foundation of all the rest. This we Exercise by our Representatives, and by them only, it being impracticable for the Col-

Collective Body of the People to Assemble and Exercise in their own Persons, the Powers which they delegate, because of the Greatness of the Nation. But if the Nature of the Representation be alter'd and impair'd, then our Liberty, which subsists in it, is impair'd likewise. If the Liberty of our Representatives be Invaded, the Liberties of Us by whom they are sent as Plenipotentiaries, to transact for Us as fully as if We were in our own Persons present, are therein Invaded. For what they *Do* is our *Act*, and what is done to *Them* is done to *Us*: What *Powers* they have were given by Us, and what is taken from them is taken from Us, who can exercise our Powers in general no other way. If then any Privileges of the House of Commons have been invaded, the Privileges of All the People have been invaded, and consequently their Liberties; for in the Exercise of *Privilege* (which signifies an Exemption from Foreign Jurisdiction in those Matters wherein Privilege is pleadable) consists our *Liberty*. So that *Privilege* is nothing else but that *Reserve of Liberty* which we have not submitted to the Dominion of any thing but our own Reason. This is to be understood of the general and common Privileges of the Whole People, and not of any separate or personal Privileges of particular Societies of Men, which being founded on Concessions or Grants, are limited by the Conditions express'd in those Grants from whence they are deriv'd.

What Privilege *is, and in whose keeping.*

Of these *Privileges*, as being the Remains of *Natural Liberty*, and the only Pledges of *Civil*, the Body to which they appertain are, and can only be the Keepers and Judges, which in this Case are Terms synonimous; for whensoever they shall trust the Keeping or Judgments of them to any others whomsoever, they cease to be, and with them the Liberty of that People or Body is gone, and they become *alieni Juris*, Subject to the Dominion of Others, even in the Maker of their Privilege: For He that hath a Power to judge Sovereignly in any Matter, that is, to cause his Judgment to be receiv'd without Appeal, is the absolute Disposer of that Matter: He can allow or disallow it, it continues or ceases at his pleasure. If therefore such Sovereign shall permit to any People the use of such absolute Privileges, whatever they may seem to be in the Exercise of 'em, they lose their Name, and dwindle into meer Courtesies, Temporary Concessions, which have but a precarious Being, and are revocable at the Will and Pleasure of such Supreme Judge.

If

Priv'lege of Commons asserted.

If this had been rightly consider'd, it might have shorten'd the Dispute between the Lords and Commons about the *Aylesbury* Men's Writs of Error very much, and might put an end to the senseless Clamour of some bawling Fellows that still make a villainous Noise about it. For to judge solely and sovereignly of all Matters touching Elections, appears indisputably to be the Privilege of the House of Commons, as well by the confession of the Lords themselves in this very Dispute, as from the very Nature of such Privileges already laid down from the Statute-Law, and from the uninterrupted course of the Practice of Parliament. Now if that be a Privilege of the House of Commons, they, and they only ought to judge when the Privilege is broken. For he that by his Judgment can limit or retrench it, may by the very same Authority make it no Privilege at all. For if the House of Commons does commit for breach of Privilege, and the House of Lords by a *Writ* of *Error* takes this Commitment into Judgment before them, and Judges that the Person so committed shall have a *Habeas Corpus*; if the Commons submit to this Judgment of the Lords, What does their Privilege or Power of Commitment for the Breach of it signify more than the House of Lords pleases, except it be to give the Lords a sort of Authority over 'em, to which, but for their Privilege, the Lords could make no Pretence? So that from the Privilege of the Commons this Absurdity wou'd follow, that meerly by their reserv'd Liberty, they would become subject to the Lords. Their Privileges (if the Lords must be Judges of 'em) instead of being a Reserve of their Natural, and Pledges of their Civil Liberty, would be a Snare to 'em, and hamper 'em perpetually with the Jurisdiction of the Lords, who, according to the humour they are now in, would probably give it sufficient Exercise.

Privilege receives Limitations from those only that give it Being.

If the Privileges of the Commons of *England* had sprung originally from the Grace and Bounty of the Lords; if they had no other Foundation than their Concession, the Lords might with some colour of Reason pretend to limit the Exercise of 'em: For it looks at least like a reasonable Plea, that they who grant any Thing, should in all Disputes about it be Judges of the Extent and Meaning of their own Grant; but the reverse of this is certain (and it shall be made out at large, if the Lords challenge it), That these Privileges had a Being long before the Race of Lords existed, and that Lords are the Creatures of those that own'd these Privileges. We were told by some of the Lords, at the free Conference on this

Sub-

Subject, That arguing from Consequences was Impertinent; *if it was the Law, it should be the Law, let the Consequence be what it would*; of which we can make no other construction, than that they did declare (as it were in the Name of all the Lords) that whatever Power they could get over Us, they wou'd keep, be it never so Unreasonable or Grievous: But then, Why did they not shew us the Law that gives 'em the Power over our Privileges, which they pretended to in this Instance? A Learned *Manager* for the Commons enumerated the several Species of Law in use in *England*, and challeng'd 'em to shew which of 'em favour'd their Pretensions, and demonstrated, that the Power they pretended to, would destroy 'em All. But since we are not to talk of Consequences, we will respit that Head till anon, and only desire to know how the Law comes to be on their side; at the Conference they did not vouchsafe Us either Law, Precedents, or Reason, and we could find no sign that the Law was on their side, but their own Words for it.

Some Privileges why provided for by expres Laws, others not.

There is no Privilege of Parliament so expresly provided for, by Act of Parliament, as the sole Determination of all Matters relating to Elections in the House of Commons. This particular Care was not taken, because that Privilege was thought more disputable than any of the rest, for it was never attempted upon till now; nor because the Privileges of the Commons were not thought as Secure, without an Act of Parliament, as with it: For it stands upon the same Foot with the Authority of Parliaments it self, and is part of the *Original Contract*, if there be any; but it was expreſt in an Act (as the Privilege of the Persons of Members for the same reason) that Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and others who are usually no very nice Judges of the Privileges of Parliament, yet have a great deal to do with Elections for Parliament out of the time of Session, might exactly know their Duty, and presume no farther: The Act therefore does not create any new Privilege to the Commons, or give any greater Force than the old One had, but recognizes and publishes it only to the whole Nation, that they whom it concerns may take notice.

Specifick Remedy to be had in the House of Commons, and no where else.

If the Constables of *Aylesbury* had refus'd to take the Poll of any Persons, who had a Right to Vote, they ought to have complain'd to the House of Commons, who could have given their Votes their due force, by allowing 'em there; and could have expell'd the Sitting Members, if for want of their Votes, a false Return had been made. This had been a specifick Remedy, and had settled their Right for the

the future. But this neither *Westminster-Hall*, nor the *House of Lords* could pretend to give 'em. What then did they go thither for? Why, for Damages! Damages, for what? Did they lose the Sale of their Votes? Or did the Purchaser come upon 'em to oblige 'em to Refund? We wou'd be glad that their *great Friend*, who professes so frankly to know so much of the Matter, would be pleas'd to open a little of that Mystery to Us; for we are apt to think that it was the Purchaser who Sued for his Bargain, and that very little wou'd have been given for such Votes, if it had not been to create a Dispute that might open a gap in the Privileges of the Commons, and let in the Jurisdiction of the Lords upon 'em. But why did they not bring their Complaint into the House of Commons? Can any other Reason be given than these? Either that they doubted their Cause, and therefore would not trust it, where, upon a full Hearing, it might be dismist with the Complement of being Groundless, Frivolous, and Vexatious; or that the Method was not like to be grievous enough to the Constables, or (which we are upon good Grounds satisfied was the main Reason) that it did not expose the Privileges of the Commons to the Judicature of the Lords. What deep Statesmen would these *Aylesbury*-Men have made, if they had been taught to Read and Write!

Consequences of the Aylesbury *Attempt.*

The Plot however was well laid, for if the House of Commons had not stop'd their Career, by adverting upon 'em, the Lords had gone roundly on to judge of the Merits of Elections, and so to have brought the House of Commons, which is co-ordinate to them, to have been subject; and, as they did advert it, gave the *Faction* an opportunity of clamouring against the House of Commons, as Arbitrary and Oppressive, and the Lords to set up for Patriots, and Assertors of the Liberties of the People. The Commons committed the *Aylesbury*-Men, and their Agents, and the Lords pretended to discharge 'em from that Commitment by a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, upon a Writ of *Error*; but the Commons denied the Jurisdiction of the Lords in this Case, and refus'd to part with their Prisoners. This, a clamorous *Faction* (who, in our Memories, were for resolving all Civil Power into the Authority of the House of Commons, as the Representatives of the People, because the *Faction* fancied they had then a more particular Interest in that House, now the Majority is better Principl'd and Dispos'd towards Establishment) call Arbitrary, Illegal, and Oppressive Proceedings. If it were really so, the Whigs, of all Men, shou'd be silent on that Head, because they have been the most Notorious of all Men living, for stretching the Prerogative of the House

House even beyond its due Bounds: So that if from their past and present Practice compar'd, we are to form any Conclusion concerning the Power of the Commons in Parliament, it can be this only, *That a* Whig House, *whether of* Commons *or* Lords, *has all the Power of the Nation committed to them, and is Absolute and Uncontrollable; but a* House *of* Monarchical Church Principles *has none at all, nor can exercise any Power or Privilege, but as the other House (if it happens to be* Whig *enough) pleases to permit.*

Present Maxims and Practices of the Whigs *contradictory to their former.*

This, as absurd as it seems, is the Rule of all their Practice, and the Aim and End of all their Libellers Pamphlets, tho' they dare not be so ingenuous as to tell the World so in plain familiar Language; and, were we at leisure to trace their footsteps, we might prove it by a thousand Instances. But, tho' neither this great *Whig* Maxim, nor their Practice be justifiable, yet, shou'd We tread in Their Steps, no *Whig* that has not a Face of Brass cou'd reproach us for it. But as we detest the Examples of their Faction, so we scorn to justifie our selves only by an *Argumentum ad hominem*, and think a *Recrimination* a *just Defence*: Tho' we can't but observe what base Recreants these *Modern Whigs* are, who, to set up their *New Patrons*, and serve a present Turn, recant all their *Old Principles*, and condemn all that their Predecessors or Themselves have done for these Three or Four-score Years, not excepting what was justifiable, and according to their strict Duty. But whether the *Whigs* had ever defended the Privileges and Power of a House of Commons, it was certainly the Duty of as many of 'em as have had the Honour to sit in that House to do it, otherwise they were guilty of a Breach of the Trust committed to 'em.

Right supposes Law and Power to defend it.

Yet how They shou'd be able to defend the Rights of the Commons of *England*, who send 'em up to Parliament for that purpose, unless they have a Power to punish any Invasions upon 'em, and open Affronts to their Authority, is a Riddle that it wou'd puzzle *Oedipus* to resolve. *Data facultate datur jus facultatem tuendi*, is the Foundation of all the Law in the World. For what does Property signifie, if we have no Power to defend that Property? Because in the State of Nature Men were frequently unable to withstand singly the Violence of Invaders, Civil Government was invented, and Magistrates created, to terminate Differences among one another, and by Joint-Force to repel and punish that Violence which separately they were not able to resist. But it is not to be suppos'd, that when they submitted

to Rules, (which are call'd *Laws*) by which, for the Eaſe of the Community, and the facilitating of Juſtice, the Magiſtrates were empower'd to protect the Individuals from the Inſults of one another, that they left the Groſs of the Community naked and open to the Inſults of Particulars. No! But either they committed it to the Care and Protection of the Magiſtrate, by which the Magiſtrate became Abſolute Monarch, unleſs they did reſerve a Power of Controlling Him in the Execution of his Office, and then the Sovereignty remain'd ſtill in the People.

Excellency of our Conſtitution.

Our Conſtitution is of a Nature partaking of both theſe Kinds, and therefore rightly call'd a *Limited Mix'd Monarchy*, wherein ſtated Rules of Government are contriv'd by the People, and receive their Sanction from the King; but the Execution of 'em is left to Him, who acting all things by his Miniſters, is therefore not accountable Himſelf to any Power in the Nation, nor puniſhable in His own Perſon (which is Sacred) for any Miſgovernment; but His Miniſters, who are the immediate Agents, altho' acting by His Commands, are reſponſible to the People, and puniſhable, if they exceed the Commiſſion given 'em, in the Law. But if the Commons are not able to vindicate *Themſelves* and their own Authority from the rude Inſults and Attempts of the meaneſt of their own Body, how ſhall they pretend to protect themſelves from the Oppreſſion of the Miniſters, who uſually are of another Body, and part of another Eſtate, (or have Intereſt enough at Court to get themſelves remov'd to it whenever they find the Wind in their Teeth) over which the Commons claim no Juriſdiction?

Commons One of the Three Eſtates, and their Rights neither precarious, nor dependent on any other.

On the other hand, the Lords themſelves confeſs, and it would be as dangerous as ridiculous to deny it, That the *Commons* are One of the *Three Eſtates* of the Realm, a Third part of the *Sovereign Legiſlative Power*, and as ſuch have Rights and Privileges, abſolute and independent of the other Two, as the other Two have of Them, which ſeparate Rights neither do, nor ought to interfere with each other. But it is abſurd to confeſs all this, and yet to pretend that the Violation of the Rights and Privileges of any *One* of the Eſtates ſhall be ſubmitted to the Judgment of *Another:* For that Submiſſion creates a Dependence and Subjection for thoſe Rights. It is yet more abſurd to imagin that the Commons ſhou'd reſerve to themſelves certain Rights and Privileges, on the full and free Exerciſe of which depends all their Liberty, and yet ſhou'd leave that Exerciſe

eiſe precarious, and at the Mercy of the Other Eſtates: yet ſo it is, if either the Queens Courts or the Lords may judge deciſively of the violation of 'em.

Diſtinction us'd at the Conference without Difference.

To avoid this Abſurdity (as the Commons have in their Arguments at the Free conference rightly obſerv'd) the Lords have had recourſe to a Diſtinction without *Difference*, between the Merits of the *Election*, and the Right of the *Electors*, as if One did not neceſſarily flow from the Other. To avoid any unneceſſary Diſpute about the Judicature of the Lords, which theſe late Attempts have given occaſion to look more nearly into than had otherwiſe been done: we will allow that there are many Caſes which may draw any or every Commoner under the Judgment of their Lordſhips, and we deſire, however unkind they have been to Us, that Their Judicature may be preſerv'd to them entire, and in its juſt Extent: But we deny that the Right of any Commoner, *qua Elector*, is, upon any pretence whatſoever, ſubject to the Judgment of the Lords, or the Crown, becauſe the Judgment of ſuch Rights does virtually include a Judgment of the Merits of Elections, and creates ſuch a Dependence as formally overthrows the Liberties of all the Commons of *England*.

Commons as equitable Judges as the Lords.

As upon the reſerving the Judgment of theſe Rights depends the preſervation of 'em, ſo the puniſhing of all Invaſions of 'em, as a Branch of that Judicature, belongs to the Commons only; nor can the Houſe depart from it without betraying the Liberties of thoſe whom they repreſent: Nor can we ſee where lies the Danger of Oppreſſion from this Power of the Commons, nor why they may not as well be truſted with the perſonal Liberty of their Principals, as the Lords, or any Court whatſoever; but, on the contrary, there are many Reaſons that ſhew 'em to be fitted for that Truſt, beyond the Lords, or any Court whatſoever. *Firſt*, Becauſe they are but Commoners, and Themſelves, by the ſame Authority, and for the ſame Reaſons expos'd to many Hardſhips which the Lords in many points are not, and conſequently, having no apprehenſion of being reach'd by their own Precedent, not likely to be ſo tender. *Secondly*, They are choſen by the People, and derive their Authority from their Choice, which no doubt but moſt of 'em reſent as a great Obligation. And *laſtly*, (not to multiply Arguments in a plain Caſe) their Authority is of but ſhort duration, but of *Three Years* at moſt, and their Elections precarious, which obliges 'em to behave themſelves with abundance of Cir-

Circumspection and Deference to their Electors, if they expect to serve any more in that Capacity; none of which Inducements to Tenderness are to be found among the Lords, who have Personal Privileges far surpassing those of the Commons as well in Extent as Duration; who represent *only* Themselves, and are a perpetual immutable Body, not liable to be put out of Authority for any Abuse of their Power; and, *lastly*, who are many of 'em tainted with the common Disease of Human Grandeur, and apt to think themselves of a Nature as well as Order exalted above the Commons, and therefore to treat 'em superciliously, and to exact more Respect than they are willing to return. Which way these Things operate, we may see by the Contempt wherewith divers of 'em now treat us, who, of the most stiff Assertors of our Power while they were chosen by, and sate among us, are become the haughtiest Oppugners of it, even in the most indisputable Branches: And, to let us see how ill Souls not truly Noble bear Advancement, we meet with more Candour and Regard from the Ancient Nobility, than from many of Those who have been but lately taken from among Us.

Commons bound in duty to commit for Insults upon their Rights or Authority.

But all these Considerations, how operative soever, notwithstanding, if any Commoners will be so fool-hardily (we may say traiterously to Themselves) mutinous, and endeavour to subvert *their own Power* in That of their *Representatives*, it is no wonder to see 'em committed by them for it: The Duty of their Trust oblig'd 'em to it, to deter others from the like Attempts, and they had been unworthy of it if their tameness had betray'd it to more such Assaults. The Forbearance in the first Attack of *Ashby* was a Fault that drew after it the rest, and is scarce sufficiently repair'd by their Courage and Vigilance since. Nor is it any more to be wonder'd at, to see some Lords espouse their Quarrel, and under pretence of *Publick Spirit*, and *Care of the Liberties of the People*, to stalk by these Fellows to Arbitrary Power, to which nothing is so great a Bar as the Power of the House of Commons, which therefore must be depress'd by those that aim at it.

Design of the Aylsbury-Suit.

We are not unaware for *what Ends*, and *by whom* this Suit was carry'd on, which these Beggars lend their Names to: But such Fellows, who have no Property of their own to secure, are the fittest to be employ'd to break down the Fences of other Mens; had they had never so legal Votes, their Cause might have starv'd, and themselves have rotted in Gaol, e'er there had been

been such struggling for their Liberty, if the *Privilege of Commons*, the *Right of Elections*, and the *Commitments of the House* had not been struck at by it. Cou'd they have prevail'd, and rendred Commitments by the Commons for Breach of Privilege subject to their Judgments, such is the Corruption and Degeneracy of this Age, that they might have had Voluntiers enough of a certain Faction to have affronted and insulted the Authority of that House, with hopes of Impunity. For this the *Habeas Corpus* Act was so insisted upon, by those who knew that no Court in *England* would allow it in a Case of Contempt; and that which all look upon as an inseparable Adjunct of their Authority, *by Commitment to punish an Affront*, was deny'd to That Court which knows no Superiour, which was never yet disputed with the lowest. A Commitment of the House of Commons being in Execution of their Sentence for Punishment, not Tryal, there was no pretence for a *Habeas Corpus*, much less for a *Writ of Error*, which is an Appeal from the Judgment of an *Inferiour Court* to a *Superiour*, which no Court, not the *House of Lords* it self, has yet openly pretended to be. This is the first *Overt-Attempt* to *make* it so, while they dare not *call* it so, and we hope it will be the last; at least, we look upon it to be our Duty to watch and resist all such Attempts, which, if they succeed, must prove fatal to the Liberties of the People, and by swallowing up the Rights and Privileges of the Commons, render 'em a precarious Body, dependent on the Lords, and alterable at pleasure, and so have prov'd the first great Step towards such an *Aristocracy* as some People seem ro drive at, to which but two Steps more had been necessary to accomplish it, the pulling down the *Church* and the *Crown*, which God give our next Representatives *Courage* and *Wisdom* to preserve.

Tacking of the Occasional Conformity Bill, why attempted.

The last House of Commons was so sensible of the extream danger of the Church (and consequently the Government it self) was in, that they prepar'd a Bill to secure the Church of *England*, the *Moderation*, Reasonableness, and Necessity of which Bill have been already largely spoken to; but the Lords, who were either not so apprehensive of the Danger, or not so solicitous for the Church, as the Commons, had rejected it twice, and the second time, in a way so Unparliamentary, and that had in it so little of the Respect, due from one Estate to the Acts of another, which is so necessary to preserve a good Correspondence between the Two Houses, that the Commons had reason to look upon the manner of rejecting their Bill as a Declaration, that there was an end of all Intention, to observe Measures barely decent with 'em. It was

with

with difficulty that their Bill obtain'd one Reading, and was after that, flung out immediately, with divers ſcornful Speeches, reflecting both upon the Bill, and thoſe that ſent it up. To this Contempt within Doors, was added a greater Inſolence without, for a certain Lord came that Evening, to a Muſick-meeting erected at the Play-houſe, by the Subſcriptions of his Faction; with a roll of Paper or Parchment, tied up like a Bill, in his hand, which, in the Face of all the Audience, he threw ſcornfully upon the publick Stage, and told 'em, *There was the Occaſional Conformity Bill for 'em*; which was immediately made the ſubject of the inſipid Drollery, of all the Fools that applauded that Action. The Solicitations underhand of ſome Miniſters againſt that Bill concurring with and encouraging theſe Inſolencies and Affronts, made the Commons deſpair, that they who had inſulted 'em in ſo open a manner, would ever be brought to hear Reaſon any more upon that head; for if they took no Notice at all of theſe Inſults, they did but encourage farther Inſolencies by their Tameneſs; and if they reſented 'em as they ought, the only effect it could have, would be to exaſperate and inflame the Animoſities that were already begun between 'em. On the other hand, they could expect no Security to the Church, from the farther deliberations of thoſe Men, who had already made it the Scorn and Jeſt of a publick Play-houſe: On the other hand, they ſaw ſome Miniſters, who had diſſembled Indifference hitherto, begin more openly to incline, whether out of Fear, or for other By-ends to their Adverſaries, which was likely to increaſe their Inſolence, and render the way of Conference and Debate utterly impracticable, or at the beſt, ineffectual and uſeleſs, as it has ſince prov'd; they conſider'd, that at the firſt ſending up the Bill, the Lords of the greateſt Conſideration, Experience and Reaſon, were for the Bill, and that moſt of thoſe that oppos'd it, Excepted only againſt a Clauſe or two, which mended, they declar'd themſelves willing to admit it, and that with thoſe Clauſes in it; the Faction with their utmoſt Struggle had been able to throw it out, but by one or two, that ſince that thoſe Paſſages had been mended as deſir'd; and that the Bill had then miſcarried only thro' the means of a Miniſter or two, who were however aſhamed to appear againſt it openly in the Houſe, and that for all this, it was loſt by a very ſmall Majority, moſt of 'em influenc'd by thoſe Miniſters; That from hence it was plain, that the real Scruples of the Lords were ſatisfied, tho' the Deſigns of thoſe Miniſters might not: That the Church ought not to be expos'd to Danger in favour of the ſecret Deſigns of any Miniſters; yet that it could not be ſecured againſt any attempts of the *Presbitery* from *S–d-land*, which now

is Arming there by Authority, and againſt ſuch as would creep into Employment at Home perhaps to favour their Attempts; but by the Bill againſt *Occaſional Conformity*, or ſome ſuch Equivalent as had not hitherto been offer'd or thought on. Since therefore the Objections made to the Bill, were obviated by the Amendments made to it, ſome of the Commons reſolved to Tack it to the Land-Tax Bill, in hope that the Miniſters would rather recede from their ſecret Deſigns, than hazard the loſing or retarding that Supply, for the paſſing of which no particular Men in the Nation, could pretend an equal Concern in Intereſt with themſelves; which if they had done, a Bill which themſelves confeſs'd to be a good one, had paſt, the Church of *England* had been ſecur'd, and only a few obſtinate Perſons, whoſe own Objections were remov'd, had been diſappointed.

Clamour thereupon unreaſonable.

This Attempt has rais'd a great deal of unreaſonable, unjuſt Clamour, upon the Gentlemen that were for it in the Houſe, who have with open Mouth been aſpers'd and vilify'd by Raſcals, that have neither Senſe, Honour, Morality nor Religion. Theſe villanous Slanders are Printed and Publiſh'd almoſt daily, under the Noſes of ſome in Authority, and ought to be adverted upon by them; but ſince by Conniving, they are pleas'd rather to countenance than to correct or put a ſtop to 'em, and are pleas'd to leave the vindication of us to our next Meeting, it may be found neceſſary to do it in a manner more Comprehenſive than they will like.

Argument againſt Tacking.

The Arguments that are brought againſt the Tacking of this Bill, are of two ſorts; ſome againſt the Bill it ſelf, which we preſume are already ſufficiently anſwer'd; others are againſt the Rights of Tacking in general, and a third ſort againſt it at this Juncture: Thoſe that deny the Right of Tacking, go upon the Novelty or the Inconvenience of the Practice.

It is, they ſay, very rare, and of very freſh Date, and would, if practis'd, take away from the Lords the Right of deliberating on any Bill, and thereby render their Share in the Legiſlature inſignificant.

Anſwer'd.

Thoſe that object againſt the Right of Tacking, upon the Score of its Novelty, are either very ill read in the antient Practice of Parliaments, or very foul Arguers, Lyers that ſuppreſs Truth, and utter Falſhoods, which they know to be ſuch, to deceive the People into *Faction*. 'Tis probable that the practice of Tacking is in effect, as old as the Peoples giving of Money, however new the Name may

may be; for 'tis reasonable to think, that when the People were convened to give Money, (which was antiently the usual, as it is now the only Cause of calling Parliaments) they desir'd whatever Grievances they complain'd of, might be redress'd; and upon that condition gave their Money, so that instead of Tacking very rarely, they did in effect Tack all their Laws. And that this was their constant Practice, appears from all our Histories and Records; and to as plain a Tack, as any now made, we owe our *Magna Charta*, which it self tells Us, That in consideration of divers good Laws there recited, they do grant to the King, *&c.* This is not the Case of that great Law alone, but almost all our great Laws, in favour of the People, have been so bought. It is indeed absurd to imagine that a Free People can be call'd together to give Money, which they might refuse to do, if they see Cause, and yet be denied any reasonable Request which they had to make, on their own behalf for their Money. To pretend to bully the People out of their Money, without giving 'em the desir'd Satisfaction, is indeed a new Practice, which none but a certain Faction among Us, who labour to confound all antient Rights, durst have ventur'd upon. If in antient Times the generosity of our Kings, and the simple Honesty of the People, did incline 'em to take the Prince's Word for the redress of their Grievances, and in case of Pressing Necessity, to give their Money first; yet this was as express a Tack, as if the Sum given, and Conditions upon which it was given, had been exprest on the same Parchment. For as the Word of a King ought to be Sacred, the non-performance of the Conditions, for which it was the Security, was as much a Robbery, as if the Money which was given for 'em, had been taken from 'em by Violence. However, our Ancestors found reason very early, to be more cautious upon what Terms they parted with their Money, and to take care that how many Bills soever they past, the Money-Bills should always be the last; and remain as a Security for the rest. The alteration of this Practice we may truly affirm to be of very late Date, and upon what Reasons soever introduc'd, we find that the Interest of the People was not well consulted in it, we might here produce a long Roll, with a longer account of Laws, that are owing to Tacks, or an equivalent to Tacking, but having taken care that an exact *History of Tacks* shall in due time be given to the Publick, we need not give 'em room here.

They

They that will take the pains to search our Histories and Records impartially, will find, that our Ancestors, have from Time immemorial, even beyond our tracing, been possest of the Right of Tacking, or a sufficient Equivalent. But whether they had exercis'd it or not, since they have not by any formal Act renounc'd it and past it away, nor in a legal manner made it over, it descends in as full force to Us, their Heirs and Successors, as ever they enjoy'd it. We shall not here enter into any Dispute, whether they had a Power to convey away from Us their Posterity, the Right of disposing of our own Money. 'Tis confest that they have not done it, and we ought not now to do that injury to our Posterity. Those that give Money, may either make it a free Gift, or a conditional One, as they see occasion. But if they may be limited and circumscribed in the Conditions, and yet be oblig'd to give, they are no longer Givers, but dwindled into Assessors, that have nothing to do, but to Measure out and Proportion; they who appoint the Conditions or Limitations of 'em, are the true and real Disposers, and the Commons do not Grant, but give Security to Pay. This, if the House of Commons could be brought to submit to, they would no longer be the Representatives, but the Assessors General of the People, which is what some Persons, back'd by the *Whig-Faction*, have been labouring for some Years. Whenever this Point is gain'd upon the Commons, either by the Crown or the Lords, the People are brought that very Moment under a Tyranny, whether Monarchical of the Ministers, or Aristocratical of the House of Lords. For the giving of Money on their own Terms, is the only Remainder of Sovereignty over themselves, of which the undisturb'd Exercise is left 'em, if we may call that undisturb'd, which has been so often attempted, as we have known this to be of late.

Free-giving, implies Power of doing it with, or without condition.

The great Objection, that it would take from the Lords their Right of deliberating, is of no Weight: For in the case of Money-Bills, they have no Right to deliberate upon any thing concerning 'em, but whether they will accept the Money upon the Terms it is offer'd or not, in which they are at their Liberty. Whether the Lords would have accepted the *Land-Tax* with the *Occasional Conformity Bill* Tackt to it, is more than any one, even themselves can tell; but we are sure that the Commons ought not to take notice of any Resolutions entred in the Books of their House in prejudice of their own Rights: If the Commons had thought (as some time or other perhaps they may) that the pre-

Principle Objection considered.

ſervation of the Church of *England* was as neceſſary as any thing for which they gave Money, and the Bill againſt *Occaſional Conformity*, the only expedient whereby it might be preſerv'd, Why ſhould they not give their Money on that condition as well as any other? Tho the preſent War, and the condition of our Confederates abroad do deſerve our Conſideration, Compaſſion and Aſſiſtance; yet why may not the Church of *England* claim a ſhare in our Concern likewiſe? And why may not both be provided for at once? But if the Lords ſhould reſolve to drop either the Church of *England* or the Confederates, be it upon them if either falls; let not Us be acceſſary to it, but provide for both; What would they have done, if we had call'd it *An Act for granting an Aid to Her Majeſty, for the better Eſtabliſhment of the Church of* England, *and for the more effectual carrying on the War againſt* France *and* Spain? Had there been any Repugnancy, any Incongruity between theſe two Ends of giving Money? Might not both have been purſued without any claſhing, if the Lords had ſo pleaſed?

Right of deliberation not taken from the Lords in this Caſe.

But how was the Right of deliberation taken from the Lords in this Caſe, if the Bill had been Tackt? Had not this Bill been paſt by the Lords with certain Amendments? And was it not now alter'd to the very Terms on which the Lords had conſented to it? If the Lords were ſincere at firſt, Can it be imagin'd that they wou'd ſo far hazard the Publick as to go back, when ſo much muſt have been loſt by it? Would not ſome Miniſters rather have ſuſpended a while the purſuit of their *By-Game*, laid aſide their ſhuffling Tricks, and have come roundly into the Bill? If they had, their Weight would have turn'd the Scale, and put an end to a dangerous Conteſt; and if they had not, they had deſerv'd Hanging. The matter of deliberation concerning the ſubſtance of the *Occaſional Conformity Bill* had long been over, when the attempt to Tack it was made; and the only Queſtion that remain'd undecided was, Whether the Commons ſhould loſe a Bill that had been ſo often by themſelves judg'd neceſſary, and part with an undoubted Right, for the awe of a Reſolution, found on the Books of the Houſe of Lords, or not? How it was determined, few among Us are ignorant, and We hope by this time, moſt Intelligent Perſons are convinc'd, whom they are to thank, if the Conſequence ſhould at one time or other coſt 'em their Liberties.

Thoſe that grant the Right of Tacking, and were afraid only of exerciſing it at this juncture, for fear of the ill effects it might have upon our Confederates, may, to what has been already ſaid, take this farther anſwer: That it concerns not Us to

inquire

inquire what those consequences might have been, since (as We have already prov'd) they could not have happen'd thro' our Fault. But it seems, as if the Lords had no such dreadful apprehensions of 'em, when they stopt two Money-Bills above three Weeks in their House, only to Quarrel with and Bully the Commons about matter with which they had nothing to do.

Consequences imputable to those only who are in the wrong.

But some that grant the Right of Tacking to be very ancient, say it was only exercised against the Crown, not against the Lords. We freely acknowledge, that the Lords did not anciently give the Commons such Provocations to tack upon 'em, as of late they have done. The Lords were in those days Men of very great Estates and greater Honour, who, by not letting their Estates at Rack-Rents (as they do now) but being paid partly in Service, had most of the Commons of the Campaign, the Country Gentlemen and Yeomen, the best of our People, for their Vassals. This made 'em regard one another after another manner than now they do; they thought they had but *one Interest*, and therefore the *Lords* were *obliging* and *tender* of the *Commons*, and the *Commons* respectful and observant of the Lords; and all things past between 'em with the utmost kindness and decency. They did not in those Days affect so much distinction as now, but sate friendly together in the same House, and concerted matters amicably; but all these bands of Amity have long since been dissolved. The Lords have neither the great Estates, nor the great Qualities that endear'd 'em to the People then, and the ancient noble Practices are almost extinguish'd with the ancient noble Blood, and we have very few that can boast of a hundred Years nobility in their Families; but to those that can, we are very thankful for the Interest we have in 'em, we honour 'em as we ought, and are very sensible that our Differences are wholly owing to three or four Upstarts of a very fresh Date, and late Edition, *Sublata causa tollitur Effectus*, say the Logicians; but these new Gentlement require more submission than ever was shewn to their Predecessors, (We are sorry that to most of 'em, we can't say their Ancestors) even tho' the reasons of our Respect be entirely ceas'd; but in vain they require it, for we can't reverence a *Pimp*, a *Plunderer*, a *Buffoon*, or a *Barrator*, tho' he should wear the Title of Lordship.

This may serve to shew why the Understanding between the Lords and Commons is not now so good as in the Days of our Ancestors. But they that tell Us, that there were Tacks, which were not Tacks upon the Lords, would do well to tell us what sort of Tacks those were: For since the Lords are bound to re-

ceive or reject all Money-Bills intire, with all their Clauses as they are sent up to 'em by the Commons, there can be no Tack upon the Crown which is not equally a Tack upon the Lords. But if they mean only that the Lords did in those Days readily agree to Tacks, We answer, So they would now, if the Practices of some that have lately crept into their House did not render that and all other Powers of the Commons dreadful to 'em, and them therefore desirous to extinguish 'em, which is the ground of our present Quarrels.

Those that slight our apprehensions be suspected.

If, after all that has been said, any Persons will obstinately persist to maintain that the Church of *England* has no reason to be apprehensive for her Security, they wou'd do well to obviate our Objections, and to remove our Fears, either by shewing such undeniable Grounds for their own *Confidence*, as may beget the like in Us, or by proposing some sufficient Equivalent to what we have thought so necessary for our Security, while they remain sullen or impotent, unwilling or unable to do either of these. We can't rely so far upon any thing that they say, as to abandon our Care and Concern for our Church and Constitution, or to cease the Pursuit of such reasonable Measures as still seem to us absolutely necessary to their Preservation: Nor can we take railing at or displacing Gentlemen of the greatest Honour and Quality, whose only Fault is a too watchful Zeal for the Security of our Church and Nation (if it cou'd be prov'd that their *Fears* were not *absolutely necessary*) to be a method of giving us Satisfaction, or lessening our Apprehensions; on the contrary, we take the laying aside of such stiddy Champions of the Church, such able Ministers, and such faithful Servants to the Queen, as the Duke of *B-----ham*, the Earls of *N-------ham*, *R--ster*, *J---sey*, *W-----sea*, *D------rt*, the Lords *G--ford*, *Gr--ville*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *George Rook*, &c. to be manifest Indications that the Ministers are resolv'd by Force to make the *Church* truckle to the *Faction*, whose Favourers were generally put into their Places.

Scotch *Act of Security one Ground of our Apprehension.*

What other Construction can we make of disarming the *Church* here, and arming the *Presbytery* in *S---land* at the same time? Is this a time for the *Church* and *Nation* to be stripp'd of the Assistance and Protection of such Friends, when Thirty thousand *Scots* (which the lowest Calculations make 'em) Bigots to their Sect and Way, and Enemies to our Church, Discipline and Worship, are Arm'd, Regimented, and Exercis'd in our Neighbourhood, without so much as a Hedge between us to stop their way, if they shou'd take a fancy to come

and

and prescribe Laws to us, or our *Dissenters* shou'd (as they formerly did) invite 'em to come and reform our Worship, and settle the *Kingdom of Christ* (as their Cant is) among us? Can the House of Commons be blam'd, if upon so dismal a Prospect, they endeavour to secure us, by lodging the Civil Power in such hands as, without invading the *Prerogative*, may best protect us against an Inundation of *S---ch Presbytery?* The bare Possibility of what has once happen'd through their means, is enough to justifie the utmost Caution of Wise Men. But if (as we ought) we add to it the consideration of their present Posture and Inclinations, and the Disposition of a Party among us (now taken into Favour by some Ministers) who by their own Vaunts shou'd be considerable for their Strength, our most lively Apprehensions of their conjunction can never be thought unreasonable.

Judg'd dangerous to England *by both Houses of Parliament.*

Community of Danger always produces a *Concurrence in Judgment* as to those Points from which the Danger is fear'd: And therefore, whatever unhappy Differences have been of late created between the *Lords* and the *Commons*, they have concurr'd in this, That the late *Act of Security* (as 'tis call'd) pass'd in *S---land*, is of the most extreme Danger to *England*; and we doubt not but that when they meet next they will agree to enquire who among us advis'd it. Many Wise Men suspect that it was done first to beget a Terror of the *Scots*, and thence to evince the Necessity of a *Standing-Army* here. If that shou'd have been the Drift of the Advisers, it may serve as a Clue to lead us to the knowledge of who those Advisers were, by considering who were likely to make the best Market of the Issue of that Advice. But 'tis a dismal Prospect to see a *Civil War* (as it were) cut out for us, before we can guess at the end of the *Foreign* One. We are very well satisfied of the Courage and Bravery of the Soldiers of both Nations, without bringing 'em to the proof in our Streets: We pray GOD therefore in his Mercy to avert such Judgments.

But, while we may, it behoves us to consider what remains yet for us to do, to divert the Storm which seems to hang over our Heads. Besides our Supplications as pious Christians, there is something incumbent on us as we pretend to be a prudent People; for we must not expect to be *pray'd* only out of our Difficulties. It may therefore import us to consider what the present Disposition of our Neighbour-Nation, that is now Arming, is towards us, and who among ourselves stand most affected to 'em, and wou'd fartheſt indulge their Designs. The *Scots* have already banish'd our *Church*, and disinherited our *Crown*; and therefore, if ever they come hither, it will not be to fetch our Church

or

or Government into *S---land*: Those therefore that love *these* best, will least desire their Company here; but if we have any among us that are fond or Favourers of the *S---ch Kirk Discipline*, it will be a more dangerous Experiment than has been made above these Forty Years, to trust 'em with the *Civil Power*.

Design of the late House of Commons *seen by the* Self-denying *Bill.*

That to prevent the Civil Power from falling into suspected hands, was the sole Design of those who promoted the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*, (and not a struggle for Places, as their corrupt Adversaries pretend) was fairly demonstrated by their hearty endeavour to incapacitate even Themselves for Court-Places (which are the only Places of Profit and Influence) while they were honour'd with the Trust of their Country. Neither did they desire to take away from others their Liberty of Conscience, while they endeavour'd to secure their own, as has been as falsly as maliciously insinuated, and villanously objected, by those who themselves practise, or countenance others to practise, such equivocal, hypocritical Shifts to elude the force of plain Laws, as have proceeded from the Jesuits Mint, and were then invented, as they are still levell'd and aim'd, against the Church of *England*, to which, as well those who serve themselves of such vile Expedients, as they who contriv'd 'em, are the inveterate Enemies. Is it not an inconceivable Stupidity to accuse or suspect those of monopolizing Places, who wou'd voluntarily disable themselves from holding *any* by a *Self-denying Bill?* Or of designing against the Free Toleration, while they are with all their Might labouring to set it on foot with their own Security? But these things having been largely spoken to already, we shall not prosecute the Discourse of 'em any farther here.

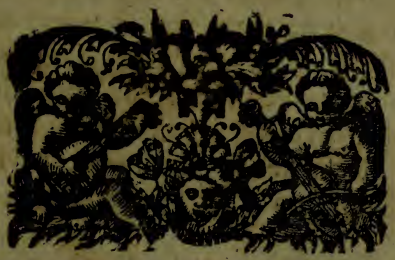
Conclusion.

We can't conclude, without intreating our Countrymen to take these things into their consideration, and that all sorts of Men (especially the true Sons of the Church) wou'd weigh well the Greatness and the Evidence of their Danger. This will make 'em set a just value upon those ever-to-be-honour'd Gentlemen, who, in opposition to a restless clamorous Faction, an intriguing, self-ended, single Ministry, and a Troop of Mercenary Renegadoes and Pensioners, have made Head for the Establishment of the Church, the true Interest of the Queen, the Maintenance of our Constitution, the Defence of the Privileges of Parliament, the Rights of the People, and the future Peace and Quiet of the whole Nation. That we may obtain all these Blessings, we hope they will recommend to their next Representatives the Care of the *Occasional Conformity* and *Self-denying* Bills, and the Protection of

their

their Privileges, which are the Peoples own, and their ſole Pledges of Liberty. The Care of theſe, as touching us nearly and ſenſibly, ought to go at leaſt hand in hand with our Concern for our Foreign Allies: Which done, we may be again ſo happy as to ſee the Queen well and faithfully ſerv'd by Perſons duly qualified, the People rightly repreſented by Gentlemen unbrib'd, diſintereſted and unbyaſs'd, Religion flouriſh, Trade revive, our Arms proſper, and our Confederates reliev'd, and through theſe Fortunate Iſlands *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex erit.* Which GOD grant, and long preſerve the QUEEN.

FINIS.



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